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THE UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI

by

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ABSTRACT

This study describes the tale-collection Uji-shūi-monogatari, usually assigned to the early thirteenth century, and attempts to assess its position in its genre.

A background to the study of the work is first provided, in an outline of the historical development of such literature and a survey of the general trends in recent Japanese studies in this field. Further surveys of Japanese work are given later concerning the date of Uji-shūi-monogatari and its relationship with other works.

Original contributions are made in the following respects:

(1) The style and literary qualities of the work are discussed, and the content of the stories is analysed in order to bring out the picture of the time which they give. (Detailed summaries of all the stories are given in an appendix.)

(2) A comprehensive and systematic analysis is made of the nature and extent of parallels between Uji-shūi-monogatari and other works.

(3) An attempt is made to re-assess the date, structure and position of Uji-shūi-monogatari. It is maintained that while the factor of oral tradition cannot be neglected, the

interrelationships of the group of works to which Uji-shūi-monogatari belongs must be basically through written texts. It is suggested as a possibility that Uji-shūi-monogatari is not, as is usually said, simply based on, but actually incorporates some text of the now-lost eleventh-century Uji-dai-nagon-monogatari. But it is maintained that in any case the work shows a lack of uniformity which casts doubt on the usual view that it was written by one man and (except for one story) at one time. Unquestionably some stories date from the early thirteenth century, but linguistic and other comparisons with Konjaku-monogatari do not point unequivocally to this period, and some even suggest that Uji-shūi-monogatari preserves an earlier form of tales than this twelfth-century work.

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Introduction

The Uji-shūi-monogatari is a collection of just under two hundred short tales, usually thought to have been compiled in the early thirteenth century. It ranks as one of the most important works of its kind, along with the much larger Konjaku-monogatari, with which it has a fairly close but obscure relationship.

The type of literature which these two works represent flourished particularly in the Heian and Kamakura periods (794-1191, 1192-1333) and is called by the Japanese setsuwa-bungaku, 'tale literature'. This term describes a wide range of works having often little in common beyond the fact that the tales which they contain are relatively short, very rarely more than a handful of pages and sometimes only a few lines long. The category of 'tale literature' embraces Buddhist and secular works, works in Chinese and others in Japanese, works with some literary merit and others with none, works whose stories are limited to one basic theme and others, perhaps the most interesting, which range over a whole gamut of themes. Uji-shūi is an example of this last type. Hitherto it has been overshadowed by, and discussed mostly in connection with, Konjaku. Even when it became recognized that it was not simply a supplement to Konjaku, it was considered to have borrowed close on half its material from the larger work. Few scholars, if any,

would now take this view, and it is clear that though no study of Uji-shūi can be made without considering its relationship to Konjaku, it will in future be studied much more for its own sake, and not simply as an aid to the study of Konjaku. It is in this spirit that I approach the work myself.

As I have indicated, the term 'tale literature' is vague. I use it because it is the term always used by Japanese scholars, but it is difficult to define. In the following chapter, I shall give an outline of the historical development of the kind of literature in question and a brief description of the individual works which are usually classed under this head. Nevertheless, it is desirable to attempt to define tale literature in general terms, if only to say what it is not.

The article on setsuwa-bungaku by Shimazu Hisamoto in Nihon-bungaku-daijiten[2] sets up four categories to which the term may be applied. The first is that of 'tales in a broad sense (as treated in the science of folktales, i.e. myths, legends and children's fairy-stories), when considered as a type of literature'; the second consists of 'oral traditions, legends, etc., when given literary expression and not simply recorded as source-material'; the third is 'literature cast in tale form and largely made up of material from tales'. In the latter sense, works like Taketori-monogatari are, as Shimazu says, sometimes called 'tale literature', while the term may be applied, in

senses one or two, to Kojiki, Nihon-shoki and parts of the Fudoki. Yet in fact, it is not commonly so applied, but is mostly used of Shimazu's fourth category of 'groups of tales gathered together in literary form, that is, literature whose main structural feature is that it consists of a collection of tales.' Here, he says, the term is used in a double sense, either meaning collections or groupings of individual items of tale literature, or referring to the fact that the groups of tales brought together can claim, as a whole, to be part of literature and works in their own right.

This is a useful, if somewhat obscurely expressed, analysis, but Shimazu seems to me to go too far when, in attempting a comprehensive definition of tale literature, he says that it consists of 'works in which a certain degree of literary consciousness has been brought to bear on tales of the kind studied by folklorists, and which have come to possess a simple primitive literary form and content - that is, books in the realm of folk literature, books which have not yet reached the realm of pure literature (where the creative consciousness of an individual author is at work).' It is true that tale literature is not creative art, in the usual sense of the term; 'the writer uses some design in the collection and choice of tales and expends some effort on the shaping of the work, but he usually has no responsibility, as an individual author, for the tales themselves; only through the literary qualities of the

writer or his literary and scientific attitude when recording the stories or through his powers of expression can any literary flavour be given to these collections of tales...' But Shimazu seems here to mislead the reader into the impression that all tale literature consists of tales of the kind studied by folklorists. That is certainly not true of most of the collections (falling into his fourth category) with which I shall deal.

Let us look for a moment at the word setsuwa, which I have translated simply as 'tale'. It is of modern coinage and will not be found in the titles of any old collections (except Kohon-setsuwa-shū, which is, however, a makeshift title given to a recently-discovered work whose original title is unknown). It is said[3] to have been coined as a Japanese equivalent for the Western 'folktale, fairy-tale, Märchen,' as distinct from 'legend' (densetsu) and 'myth' (shinwa). But whatever the sense in which it was originally used, it now retains little of this specialized meaning. In the first place, it is not restricted to Märchen, being used as a general term for the kinds of narrative of which all folktales, of whatever category, consist, and in the second, it is used of stories which cannot in any sense be classed as folktales. Thus episodes from Chinese history such as one finds interpolated in Kamakura war-tales, or anecdotes about life at the Japanese Imperial Court are described as setsuwa, no less than conventional fairy-tales. Folktales, we may say, are setsuwa, but setsuwa are not necessarily folktales.

In the collections with which I shall be concerned, there is undoubtedly much to interest the student of folktales, occasionally even stories of the conventional mukashibanashi or fairy-tale type. Such stories, however, are relatively very few, while Japanese mythology scarcely finds a place at all. The reason for the latter is fairly obvious, perhaps, when one considers the predominant position of Buddhism in the society of the period in question. In fact, Buddhist tales of various kinds, from lives of famous priests to miracle-tales, form by far the largest proportion of the whole. The next largest group is that of tales of everyday life, both at Court and in the world outside, including tales which illustrate, mostly in a nostalgic search for precedents, the manners and customs of former times. Whatever the folk elements in these collections, therefore, they can clearly not be described purely and simply as 'folk literature'. Above all, the student of folktales must treat their material with reserve because it is frequently difficult to know what part oral tradition, as opposed to written sources, played in their compilation.

A brief comment is necessary, I think, on Shimazu's use of the word 'primitive', referring to the form and content of tale literature. This, taken together with his talk of 'folk literature', might give the reader the impression that tale literature is a product of the unsophisticated and uneducated. This is far from the truth, since the compilers, as we shall see, were

largely courtiers and priests. It is true that many collections are primitive in the sense that they are put together with a minimum of literary artifice. At one time, Japanese scholars were almost unanimous in dismissing all tale literature as of no strictly literary value. But the more modern, and particularly the post-war, view, is that the best of these collections have positive literary qualities which merit consideration.

Chapter One

AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TALE LITERATURE IN JAPAN TO THE END OF THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1333)

As the field of tale literature is comparatively little known to foreign students of Japan, an outline of its development is necessary in order that the position of Uji-shūi in its genre may be fully understood. The field is vast and the works which it comprises are not only numerous but sometimes voluminous. Thus it perhaps goes without saying that for much of the information and opinions given in this chapter, I have had to rely to a very great extent on Japanese secondary sources[1]. Of the works which, besides Uji-shūi, are most important for my purpose, I have studied closely Konjaku, Kohon-setsuwa-shū[2] and Uchigiki-shū[2] in their entirety, though my study of the other, Kojidan, has been limited largely, though not entirely, to the stories which have parallels in Uji-shūi. For the rest, I can claim some personal knowledge of well over half the works mentioned in the following outline. The degree of my acquaintance with them varies from slight (through having read a few individual stories) to rather closer (through having compared in detail certain individual items with stories in the group of more important works named above, or through having studied

certain sections, e.g. book 1 of Sambō-e[3], for special purposes). Two works, Nihon-ryōiki and Hokke-hyakuza, I have been able to read complete in translation.

A summary list of the works discussed in the following outline will be found in Table 1, on pp. 356 - 359.

The oldest extant work of tale literature, in the sense in which that term is usually used by historians of Japanese literature, namely, describing works of the type comprised by Shimazu's fourth category, is a Buddhist work of the early ninth century, and for many centuries thereafter, if at varying intervals, Buddhist collections continued to be made. Indeed, more than half of the extant collections from the period up to 1333 are purely Buddhist, and if the Buddhist tales in works of mixed content are taken into account, the proportion of Buddhist tales to all others in these collections must be nearly two to one. Essentially the secular tales are of two main types, tales of Heian Court-life, and popular tales or local legends. (The use of the term 'secular' here should not be taken as implying that Buddhist collections were necessarily the work of clerics.)

It will be convenient to treat the Buddhist and secular streams of tale literature separately, rather than to observe a strictly chronological order over the whole field. Whatever arrangement one adopts, however, the starting-point must

inevitably be the early ninth-century Nihon-ryōiki (or reiiki), by a priest of the Yakushi-ji named Kyōkai.[4] This collection, as its full title Nihonkoku-gembō-zennaku-ryōiki shows, was designed to illustrate, with Japanese examples, how in this present life virtue and faith are rewarded and sin and unbelief punished. We do not know whether Ryōiki, written probably in 821 or 822, was the first work of its kind in Japan. It contains references[5] which show that there already existed personal accounts by individuals of miracles which had happened to them. These references in fact tell us very little, but we do know from the preface to the first book of Ryōiki that the collection was modelled on Chinese works. After referring to two such works[6], the author says, 'Why should only the records of another country be held in reverence and the miraculous happenings in our own land not believed?' As a Japanese counterpart to these two Chinese collections, therefore, he has assembled over a hundred stories, arranged in three books. The text of Kariya Ekisai has 112 stories, with 31, 42 and 39 in the respective books, but the recently-discovered Kōfuku-ji text of the first book adds 4 to the total, making in all 116. These stories are arranged roughly in chronological order and cover the period from the reign of Yūryaku, ca. 456-479, to that of Saga, 809-823, but it is noteworthy that almost one-third of them deal with the reign of Shōmu, 724-748, and another third

with the reigns of Kōken, 749-758, and Kōnin, 770-781. To what extent Kyōkai may have drawn on existing Japanese records of the kind already mentioned we do not know. There is at least occasional evidence that he made some use of written records; tale 5 in book 1 contains what appears to be a reference to Nihongi, and tale 25 in the same book a similarly unspecific reference to Kojiki. Nevertheless, it is clear from the prefaces to both the first and second books that much of Ryōiki was compiled from what Kyōkai had heard, rather than read. Though he is usually described as a priest of the Yakushi-ji, it is probable that he was in earlier life a jido-shami 自度沙彌 or shido-sō 私度僧, i.e. he was not officially recognized as a priest, and lived and worked, not in a temple, but among the people.[7] Thus he did not live the secluded life of the cloister, but was in close contact with the people and must have had ample opportunity of hearing popular legends about Buddhism in Japan.

The fact that Ryōiki was compiled to a considerable extent from oral traditions makes it a work of very great importance. It also helps to account for the presence, in a collection essentially of Buddhist stories, of some which have no apparent connection with Buddhism, though even these are used to point a moral. It may even explain why the style of the work is not uniform. The language throughout is Chinese, but parts of it are considered to show clearly the influence of Japanese. In these sections, which it is thought probably have an oral source,

the compiler's descriptive technique is said to be superior to that in the other sections.[8] At the end of each story, there appear notes on the Japanese readings of certain expressions. It is not known whether these are original and thus indicate that Ryōiki was intended from the first to be read as Japanese. That they may be original is suggested by the fact that they appear as early as 904, in the oldest extant manuscript, the Kōfuku-ji text of the first book.

The importance of Ryōiki in the development of tale literature, both directly, in the sense that later works such as Sambō-e and Konjaku borrowed material from it,[9] and indirectly, can hardly be over-estimated. It established in Japan a genre of tale-collections of a kind which had long been prevalent in China, though even there it had originally arisen in response to outside, i.e. Indian, influence. Buddhist Scripture is full of tales giving concrete illustrations of the wonder of the faith and the marvels which it can bring about, and it was inevitable that there should grow up, alongside the translated Indian tales, records of the Buddhist miracles which had taken place in China. Ryōiki mentions only two Chinese works, but already by the eighth century there existed in China a considerable body of such literature. Kyōkai set out to compile a work which should do the same for Japan as its Chinese models had for China. Its tales, therefore, are all ostensibly records of happenings in Japan, though on occasion they are closely modelled on Chinese

tales.

Two things stand out in all Ryōiki tales, the importance of the miraculous, supernatural element and the fact that they convey their message in the simplest terms. We are a whole world away from the austere philosophy of Hīnayāna Buddhism, in which salvation is achieved only as a result of a long process of self-discipline. Here the rewards of faith and the punishment for sin or unbelief are immediate, coming in this present life, by miraculous means. We are not yet, in Ryōiki, at the most popular, Amidist stage of Buddhist belief, wherein a single invocation of the Holy Name can save the veriest sinner. But the essence of its doctrine is simple in the extreme. These tales contain no abstruse arguments or profound doctrines. They are simple illustrations of a few basic Buddhist beliefs. This doctrinal simplicity, one might even say crudity, persists throughout the Buddhist tale literature of the Heian and Kamakura periods.

Although there is no extant work of any real significance in the history of tale literature between Ryōiki and Sambō-e, which was completed in 984, it cannot of course be stated with any certainty that no such work was produced in the century and a half between these two collections. All that can be said is that such fragmentary material of the Ryōiki type as has been preserved does not represent an advance on its predecessor. Of Nihon-kanrei-roku, thought to have been compiled not long after

848 by a priest of the Gangō-ji named Gishō, and originally composed of 58 stories of miracles connected with various great temples, only 15 stories remain. According to Masuda[10], who quotes a passage from one story with the original Chinese translated into Japanese, these are closely similar to stories in Ryōiki, but lack the latter's interest and realism.

It must be mentioned that this period saw the beginning of the long series of engi, or stories recording the circumstances in which various temples were founded. Daian-ji-engi was produced in 895, Hasedera-engi in 896, and those of Kōfuku-ji and Yakushi-ji in 900.[11] Though there had in fact been temple records in the Nara period whose titles contain the word engi, e.g. Hōryū-ji-garan-engi-narabi-ni-ryūki-shizai-chō (747), the narrative element in these was in the nature of an appendix, the main purpose being to record the property of the temple. The engi of the ninth century and after were of a quite different kind. As source-books for other tale-collections, they are not without interest to the student of tale literature, but they are not normally treated as having any claim to literary status in their own right until the late Heian period.[12] Masuda finds them lacking in the human interest which he regards as the chief virtue of tales, such as those of Ryōiki, which had originated among the people. They are of little value as literature, he says, because they are handed down from above, as it were, by the priests of a particular temple, who were interested primarily

in boosting the reputation of their own temple and its Buddha or bodhisattva.

The first work of real interest after Ryōiki, then, is Sambō-e.[13] Indeed this is of particular interest because, unlike all too many works of tale literature, it was compiled for a specific purpose which is explicitly stated in its preface, and also because it appears to be the first collection of its kind written in Japanese, rather than Chinese. It is true that of the three extant old manuscripts the only complete one, dated 1230, is written entirely in a kind of Chinese, using no kana at all. But two earlier manuscripts are both in Japanese, one (1120) using hiragana and the other (1273) katakana, together with Chinese characters. The earliest manuscript, which unfortunately consists of fragments amounting to only about one-third of the whole, is thought to be closest in form to the original. Certainly it seems very likely that this is so, seeing that Sambō-e was written for the use of a lady of the middle Heian period; it was compiled by Minamoto Tamenori for Princess Takako, second daughter of the Emperor Reizei. This lady had been a consort of the Emperor En-yū, but later she took religious vows, possibly because she no longer found favour. She died three years later, in 985, aged just under twenty. Tamenori makes clear in his preface that he has aimed to provide the Princess with an outline of Buddhism which is not only instructive but will replace for her the kind of fictional tales

in which ladies delight. To this end he has set down stories in as simple a style as possible. As the title shows, the original was illustrated. Indeed, it may be that the text was not more important than the pictures, possibly even less, which would be an additional reason for the simplicity of the style. Certainly the attempt to simplify, and use language more easily grasped by a woman, is evident in the stories in the second book which are based directly on Ryōiki.

The collection is in three books, each being devoted to one of the 'Three Treasures' of the title, the Buddha, the Law, and the Priesthood. The first consists of 13 jātaka stories, telling of previous births of Sākyamuni and mostly illustrating the six virtues, the haramitsu or pāramitās. The second contains 18 stories of the development of Buddhism in Japan, from Prince Shōtoku onward, and the third has 31 stories recounting the origin of the various Buddhist services held in the course of the year. Thus there are 62 stories in all.

If Sambō-e was indeed written in Japanese, this was almost certainly the result of the special purpose for which it was compiled. It was thus exceptional. The normal medium used by men was Chinese, as for instance in a work written at almost the same time (985-6), Nihon-ōjō-gokuraku-ki, by Yoshishige Yasutane. It is therefore surprising to find that a work called Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki, generally accepted as having been compiled in the first half of the eleventh century, though it may contain some later interpolations, is written in the

mixed style of Japanese known as wakan-konkō-bun, which is characteristic of the late Heian period and was the forerunner of the language of the Kamakura war-tales. However, according to Masuda,[14] it has recently been shown, through a comparison of stories in this work with the versions of them in Konjaku, that the original text was in Chinese, and that the present text derives from a Muromachi-period manuscript in which the original Chinese is translated into Japanese. This collection of tales extolling the virtues of faith in Jizō, and illustrating his miraculous power, was written by the chief priest of the Mii temple, Jitsuei. Nothing is known about Jitsuei except what is revealed in the first story in this work, in which he himself figures. Since mention is made of the year 1033, in which he is said to have found an old statue of Jizō, Nomura[15] concludes that the collection was probably compiled at some time during the period covered by the reigns of Go-Ichijō, Go-Suzaku and Go-Reizei, i.e. 1016-1068. The existing text preserves only the first book (with 9 stories) and the second (with 16) of the original three.

As Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki deals with Jizō and his power, so the work known as (Dai-Nihon- or Honchō-) Hokke-genki, written by the priest Chingen[16] of Mt. Hiei in 1041, deals with the power and virtue of the Lotus Sūtra. Its three books contain 127 stories, in Chinese, of Japanese people from the time of Prince

Shōtoku onward in whose lives the Lotus Sutra had worked wonders. This is a collection of some importance in the history of tale literature, being the source of a number of stories in Konjaku.

Like Ryōiki, Hokke-genki is a conscious attempt to produce a collection of Japanese stories to emulate a Chinese model, in this case the T'ang-period Fa-hua-yen-chi, by I-chi. Unlike Ryōiki, however, it does not limit itself to one theme. It deals not only with rewards in this life, but also with salvation or rebirth (ōjō) either in the Tuṣita heaven or in Amida's Paradise. In that its stories all relate the lives of people who have experienced the saving power of Buddhism, it bears some resemblance to the collections known as ōjō-den, or biographies of those who have achieved rebirth in Paradise, of which there is a whole series, beginning with the work mentioned above in passing, Nihon-ōjō-gokuraku-ki, by Yoshishige Yasutane. The difference is certainly not great, only that ōjō-den stories always end with the subject being welcomed into Paradise, whereas Hokke-genki does not necessarily treat of the end of its subjects' lives. Nevertheless, Hokke-genki is not usually considered as belonging to the category of ōjō-den.

Nihon-ōjō-gokuraku-ki,[17] as has already been mentioned, was compiled in 985-6, at almost the same time as Sambō-e. The 45 biographies which it contains go back in time as far as Prince Shōtoku, i.e. to the beginnings of Buddhism as a serious

force in Japan. The stories are based partly on historical sources, but also on information gathered from the lips of old people. If Yasutane's work had any immediate successors, they are no longer extant. It is probable that there were none, since the next work to be mentioned, though of considerably later date, is certainly a supplement to Gokuraku-ki, as is apparent from the title, Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den. The date of this work is not known, but as it was written by the famous Ōe Masafusa, who died in 1111, it cannot be later than that date. It has 42 biographies, some of which are from a period later than Gokuraku-ki.

Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den was followed by two further supplements, Shūi-ōjō-den and Go-shūi-ōjō-den, containing 94 and 82 stories respectively and both in three books. These again can be dated only approximately, according to the death of the author, Miyoshi Tameyasu, in 1139. The stories with which they supplement Masafusa's work are by no means all from a later period. Shūi-ōjō-den, for instance, though it goes up to the early twelfth century, also goes back as far as 768. A further supplement to all these was Sangai-ōjō-den, by a priest named Renzen, and this was followed by Honchō-shinshū-ōjō-den, which contains biographies extending up to 1151. The late Heian period seems indeed to have been the most prolific in this type of work, but the genre continued for a long time thereafter, even into the Tokugawa period. Nihon-bungaku-daijiten, for

instance, lists several ōjō-den collections from the late seventeenth century, and shows too that several of these Heian works appeared in Tokugawa printed editions.

If tale literature had never passed beyond the stage of these flat and stereotyped recitals in Chinese of Buddhist miracles (or of similarly uninterestingly told non-Buddhist anecdotes), it would have no claim to serious consideration as part of Japanese literature, unless 'literature' is taken to include all written documents. But the late Heian period saw two important developments in this field. One was that the vernacular language came into common use in tale-collections, which made possible narratives of much greater liveliness and realism than could have been achieved in the dry Chinese style commonly used by men, e.g. in diaries. In part, this development is associated with the growth of the mixed style, wakan-konkō-bun[18], mentioned earlier. The work in which the early stages in the development of this style are best illustrated is the twelfth-century Konjaku. However, even in Konjaku the style varies somewhat in different parts of the work, and certainly the Japanese used in tale-collections of this period is not necessarily wakan-konkō-bun. The language of Kohon (and indeed of Uji-shūi, supposedly written a century later than Konjaku) is rather in the tradition of Heian monogatari, though more colloquial and vigorous, probably very close to the language of tales as they were transmitted by word of mouth.

The second major feature of tale literature in the late Heian period is the emergence of collections which are no longer confined to one type of theme, that is to say, in which the religious and the secular both play significant parts. The most notable example is Konjaku, which incorporates elements from every conceivable type of tale literature; its size and vast range are such that Japanese scholars like to claim for it a place among the really great tale-collections of the world. It has an extremely strong element of Buddhist propaganda, but there is so much besides that it cannot be classified simply as a Buddhist work, and it will be most convenient to defer description of it until after the 'pure' streams of tale literature, Buddhist and secular, have been considered separately. Partly for the same reason, but particularly because they have certain close relationships either with Konjaku and/or with each other, I propose to leave aside for consideration along with Konjaku three other works, Kohon (also twelfth century), Kojidan (1212-15), and the main object of our study, Uji-shūi.

To return then to Buddhist works. It should not be supposed, because Chinese continued to be used in ōjō-den, that the use of Japanese in the twelfth century was confined to mixed or non-Buddhist collections. There are extant two very interesting examples of Buddhist literature from the early part of the century written in Japanese, Hokke-shuhō-ippyakuza-kikigaki-shō (commonly referred to as Hokke-hyakuza or Hyakuza-

hōdan), and Uchigiki-shū. Both works have only comparatively recently been published, the former in 1934 and the latter in 1927. Their special interest for us lies in the fact that one is a recording of, and the other may be notes for use in, sermons.

Hokke-hyakuza[19] was certainly compiled from notes of sermons preached in the course of a hundred-day sūtra-reading ceremony at the Daian-ji in 1110, held under the patronage of an Imperial Princess thought to have been Fujiwara Sadako. It is not known when the notes were written up. The present text is not the original but a copy believed to have been made not later than the end of the Heian period. Although the nucleus of each sermon is a tale or tales, these tales are quite short and form only a part of the whole, illustrating the points which the preacher makes with examples from India, China and Japan. Thus Hokke-hyakuza is not a tale-collection in the same sense as the other works we have been considering. I have had the good fortune to read an unpublished translation of this work, by Joachim Glaubitz.[20] As regards the language of the work, Glaubitz comments that there is a considerable difference in style between the sermons proper and the stories embedded in them, the latter being much less literary. The whole, however, is written out in the same way, in a mixture of Chinese characters and katakana.

Uchigiki-shū, though probably written at about the same

period as Hokke-hyakuza, uses a development of the 'semmyō' style, i.e. with the katakana which accompany the Chinese characters written small, and where several kana follow one another, divided into two lines, and with the Chinese order of characters preserved in certain phrases. In the opinion of Hashimoto Shinkichi[21], the many ate-ji and strange uses of characters suggest that the existing text may be, as the title implies, exactly as jotted down by some person who heard the stories told. The collection comprises 27 items, two of which consist of one line only. The manuscript, which is written on the reverse side of used paper on which certain dates appear, the latest being 1111, seems to be a copy owned by a priest of Mt. Hiei named Eigen; the evidence for this is a statement on the cover that 'From the entry into Nirvāna of the Buddha to the third year of Chōshō (1134) is 2813 years, from the founding of the Central Hall to the third year of Chōshō is 347 years - The priest Eigen.' It is usually assumed that Eigen was not only the owner of the manuscript but had made the copy himself. It is not thought that this was the original manuscript and that Eigen was the author, since certain corrections and erasures suggest that the writer was copying. The manuscript bears on the cover the words 'lower book'. From this alone, of course, it is impossible to determine whether the original was in two or three books. But it is still possible that it was in one, since the fourteenth-century

bibliography Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku lists an Uchigiki (sic) in one book. This may be a different work, but there is a strong presumption that it is the present work, since it is listed between two other works of tale literature, Gōdan-shō and Kojidan.

The style of the stories in Uchigiki is not such as to give them much literary value. But the collection is of importance in the study of the main problem in the field of tale literature - the relationship of Konjaku and Uji-shūi. 22 of its 27 stories have similarities, some very close, with items in Konjaku, and 9 with items in Uji-shūi.[22] 4 of the items in Uji-shūi are not in Konjaku. Moreover, in the stories common to all three, the wording of Uchigiki is on the whole closer to that of Uji-shūi than to that of Konjaku. Comparison with the recently-published Kohon shows that two of its stories correspond with items in Uchigiki.

With the next work, Hōbutsu-shū (ca.1178-9), as with several subsequent works in the Buddhist category, there is some doubt as to its original form. The commonest text is in one book, but there are also in existence 2, 3, 6, 7 and 9-book versions. It is noteworthy that in those texts which are thought to contain later interpolations, non-Buddhist tales are found, along with those more in keeping with the pious purpose of the work. These non-Buddhist elements include tales of India and China, and even tales built around Japanese

poems.

Nevertheless, the essentially religious purpose of Hōbutsu-shū is clear. The book is written in dialogue form, on the same lines as Ōkagami. The author, Taira Yasuyori, after his return to the capital from the exile into which he had been sent for rebellion against Kiyomori, hears a rumour that the statue of Śākyamuni at Saga is to return to India, because of the troubled conditions in Japan. He visits the temple and spends a night in conversation with the people he meets there. They discuss what is the most precious thing in the world and come to the conclusion that it is Buddhism. When a woman asks why, a priest expounds the faith, illustrating his exposition with many tales. Thus the night passes, and at dawn the company disperse.

Hōbutsu-shū is universally dismissed as having little literary flavour and lacking style. As against this, Senjū-shō has a highly-polished style, embellished with such devices as parallelism, running on occasion to purple passages and even breaking into the alternate 7 and 5-syllable rhythm of poetry. Like Hōbutsu-shū, however, it contains passages that are thought to be later interpolations. Senjū-shō is traditionally attributed to Saigyō. It appears, for instance, among Saigyō's collected works. But it has a colophon stating that it was written in 1183, and if the author was, as the preface says, something over forty when he composed the work,

he clearly cannot have been Saigyō, who in 1183 was in his mid-sixties. Nomura[23] considers the attribution to Saigyō wholly spurious, and believes that the entire collection was the work of some unknown hermit, even that it was an enlargement of Kankyo-no-tomo (discussed later in this outline) and therefore not written until after 1222. Takashima[24] and Nishio[25] both accept some stories as by Saigyō, but consider the rest to be later additions. Nishio thinks, for instance, that there are too many anachronisms and mistakes concerning poems which Saigyō would not have committed. As a possible date for the compilation of the work in its present form, he gives the period 1241-1258.[26]

Though we find in its 103 stories most of the themes that are common in earlier Buddhist collections -- miracles performed by Buddhas, rebirth in Paradise, the founding of temples, the magical powers of priests, etc. -- Senjū-shō has two features which distinguish it from its predecessors and which are typical of Kamakura Buddhist collections. The first is the prominence of a theme much in keeping with the spirit of the age, that of renunciation of the world in favour of the life of the recluse. In a country which had been so torn by civil wars, and in this time of 'the latter end of the Law', when the period had already elapsed after which Buddhist Scriptures had predicted that there would be a weakening of the power of the Buddha's teaching, many men were sickened by the degenerate state of society and took

refuge not only in monastic seclusion, but as hermits, in complete isolation. Saigyō himself, of course, had retired from the world of the Court, to live a life of communion with Nature.

The other special new feature of Senjū-shō is the fairly extensive comments accompanying the stories; Nishio[27] reckons that in perhaps one-third of the stories there is more comment than story. These comment passages are described as being 'zuihitsu-teki', that is, of the type found in works of 'random notes' on various subjects, such as Makura-no-sōshi and Tsure-zure-gusa. There is thus an interesting link between tale literature and zuihitsu.

If Senjū-shō may have been written by an unknown hermit, the compiler of the next work is thought to have been one of the most celebrated hermits in Japanese history, Kamo Chōmei. Like Saigyō, of aristocratic origin, he is best known for the short piece entitled Hōjō-ki, in which he recounted his reasons for abandoning the world and living in a 'ten-foot-square hut'. Also attributed to him , however, is a collection of Buddhist tales called Hosshin-shū. The main theme of these, as the title implies, is the 'awakening of faith', but in fact the range is as wide as that of Senjū-shō, with stories of ōjō or rebirth in Paradise, religious magic, etc.; not surprisingly, if the compiler was Chōmei, they cover also renunciation of the

world by hermits. Stylistically, Hosshin-shū differs considerably from Senjū-shō, being in a plain style of an older type.

The form in which we have it now is almost certainly an enlargement of the original. There seems to be general agreement, however, that the original was probably the work of Chōmei himself; he is named as author both by Kankyo-no-tomo (1222) and Shishū-hyaku-innen-shū (1257), which quote from Hosshin-shū.[28] Since Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku describes the work as being in three books, it may be that this was the extent of Chōmei's contribution. The exact original date of composition is not known, but is estimated to be between 1208 and 1216.

Kankyo-no-tomo is accepted as having been composed in 1222, though the authorship is disputed. The most likely candidate is thought to be St. Keisei (Keisei shōnin). It has 21 stories in its first book and 11 in the second. The latter are somewhat longer tales, one of which is said[29] to have considerable merit as a short story. Kankyo-no-tomo is another collection with an extensive zuihitsu element; according to Nishio,[30] some two-fifths of the whole is taken up with the author's comments or expositions of points of religion.

Shishū-hyaku-innen-shū, written in 1257 by the priest Jūshin, differs in several respects from the other Kamakura collections which we have been examining. In the first place, it has no consistent style, varying from outright Chinese,

through a mixture of Chinese and Japanese, to Japanese written out in semmyō style. The reason for this is that Jūshin made no attempt to assimilate his sources, either incorporating them as they stood or translating them literally. In the second place, it has nothing corresponding to the expressions of personal opinion and comment which are such a feature of certain other Kamakura tale-collections. It is not a work of any great importance in our field; its main interest for us lies in the fact that a quarter of its stories are either taken directly from or based on Konjaku. Like Konjaku, too, it is divided geographically, books 1-4 dealing with India, 5-6 China and 7-9 Japan.

Much more intrinsically interesting than this work, though of perhaps less direct concern to us, are two collections by the priest Mujū, Shaseki-shū (1279-83, with additions made in 1295 and 1308) and Zōdan-shū (1305). How much Mujū's work reflects its date may be seen in the fact that Shaseki-shū begins with a section of tales illustrating honji-suijaku, the idea that the Shinto deities are but avatārs of one or other Buddha or bodhisattva. Strangely, however, these works show little sign of that characteristic feature of so many other tale-collections of the late Heian and Kamakura periods, the nostalgia for the great days of the Imperial Court in the early and middle Heian periods. Mujū was in fact of aristocratic

birth, being a Kajiwara, but he had lived most of his life in contact with ordinary people in the country, away from centres of culture, and it was for these people that he wrote. His desire to preach Buddhism in a way which would appeal to a stupid layman determined both his matter and the manner in which he presented it. Any stories which could be turned to account he used - comic tales, tales about poetry, love-stories, even bawdy tales, in addition to the usual kinds of Buddhist tale. In particular, he tells us that he has made use of many stories current among the people of the time. The Japanese which he uses is correspondingly unelevated and simple, though Nomura[31] finds it not unattractive. Even the Buddhism which Mujū preaches has its novelty. Not only does he cover a wider variety of beliefs than was usual in tale-collections, which had dealt very largely with Jōdo or 'Pure Land' Buddhism, but he even introduces the ideas of the Zen sect, to which he himself belonged.

The final work to be mentioned in this account of Buddhist tale literature to the end of the Kamakura period is Shingon-den, a collection in three books of simply written biographies of Buddhist figures (Indian, Chinese and Japanese), composed in 1325 by a priest named Eikai. Strictly speaking, this is not a collection of setsuwa, but much of its material is of the setsuwa kind. Most important, however, is that it contains

many stories with parallels in Konjaku, Uchigiki, Kohon and Uji-shūi.[32]

Until comparatively recently, the earliest secular tale-collection treated in surveys of the history of tale literature was Yamato-monogatari, thought to have been compiled about the middle of the tenth century and greatly resembling the classic of 'poem-tales', Ise-monogatari. The researches of Imano[33] have, however, brought into prominence certain fragments by the celebrated scholar of Chinese, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki. These fragments are quotations in other works from a collection or collections of tales which antedate Yamato-monogatari by some fifty years.

There are some questions which Imano's work is unable to answer, the most important being whether the various titles under which these fragments appear are simply variant titles for one book, or whether Kiyoyuki compiled more than one book of tales. Fusō-ryakki contains, in different places, two tales quoted from a 'Zenke-hiki'(one of these, similarly attributed, occurs also in Shingon-den), while Seiji-yōryaku contains two stories quoted from a 'Zenke-iki' and two from a 'Zenke-isetsu'. Nor can the exact date of their composition be established, though Imano considers them all to date clearly from a period late in Kiyoyuki's life; internal evidence, he says,[34] shows that one passage must have been written after 901, another after

910, one in the middle or latter half of the Engi period (901-923) and one clearly not before 917 - while Kiyoyuki died in 918.

The real importance of these fragments lies in the relation of one of the stories[35] to later tale literature, in particular to Uji-shūi and Konjaku (the latter also has parallels to two of the other stories), but they are not without interest in themselves. They had no particular purpose, according to Imano.[36] They are all stories of the supernatural, and were written down by Kiyoyuki, either from his personal experience or from tales that he had heard, simply because such stories aroused his curiosity or appealed to him. Strangely enough, Kiyoyuki's great rival as a Chinese scholar, Ki no Haseo, also seems to have compiled a collection of mystery stories, entitled Ki-ke-ke-i-jitsuroku, though only one[37] of these tales has been preserved. It goes without saying, perhaps, that these two great scholars wrote in Chinese.

Ise-monogatari was described above as the classic of 'poem-tales', and it might well be asked why this kind of collection, consisting of a number of short anecdotes built around poems which at least in Ise-monogatari are relatively self-contained and independent, is not normally reckoned by Japanese scholars among tale literature. After all, not only do versions of several Ise-monogatari tales appear in works of tale literature

throughout our period but even Buddhist tale-collections, as we have seen, may include tales built around Japanese poems, while Konjaku has a great part of one book devoted to such tales. Formally, perhaps, there are no very strong reasons for excluding Ise from tale literature. Moreover Masuda[38] goes so far as to maintain that, in a broad sense, 'poem-tales' do belong to this category. He does not subscribe to the hitherto accepted theory of the genesis of poem-tales, first propounded by Ikeda Kikan, that their narrative parts were a development of the kotobagaki or short introductions to poems in anthologies, describing the circumstances in which they came to be written, but claims that poem-tales developed not from literary sources but from oral tradition, from tales (woven around poems) which were current among the Court aristocracy. If Masuda's view is correct, poem-tales would seem to be very close to the category of tale literature. Yet Masuda himself admits[39] that there remains a considerable difference between poem-tales and collections of tales such as we are considering. It is, indeed a fundamental difference, not of form, but of spirit.

This point is well illustrated by an examination of Yamato-monogatari, a collection which has, so to speak, a foot in both camps. This work, whose authorship and date are both uncertain, though it was undoubtedly written about the middle of the tenth century, consists of 173 tales, varying greatly in length, but each incorporating one or more poems. The predominant

theme is love, although there is no one central figure who appears throughout, as in Ise-monogatari. The general character of Yamato-monogatari is evident from descriptions of it as 'having always been praised, along with Ise-monogatari and Genji-monogatari, as indispensable reading for poets,' and as 'a work valued down to the present day among poets as a book for would-be poets to study.'[40] But it is not a work which can be said to constitute one uniform whole. While the first half is indeed very similar in nature to Ise-monogatari, the second half, and in particular the last twenty or thirty stories, show a rather different approach. In Ise-monogatari, there is no question that the poems are the most important feature, the stories being woven round them and serving as a lyrical build-up to them. Yamato-monogatari, on the other hand, at least in the latter part, leaves one with the impression that the poems are no longer the raison d'être of the stories. These still describe the circumstances in which the poems were composed, but more in a mood of prosaic explanation than of pure lyricism. From tale 147 onward, Yamato-monogatari tends to become simply a collection of legends attaching to certain old poems. It is these aspects of the work which justify its inclusion in the category of tale literature, though one must beware of overstating the extent of its differences from Ise-monogatari, since it clearly had such an attraction for poets

throughout the centuries.

After Yamato-monogatari there is a long period from which no secular tale literature has been preserved, though of course it may have produced some works which have vanished without trace. The next work to be considered is therefore Gōdan-shō, thought to have been compiled between 1104 and 1108. This is a collection by a disciple of Ōe Masafusa of anecdotes related by his master. Its literary value is not high, for it consists of somewhat bald and simple records of fact, written down in the same concise Chinese that was employed in men's diaries, but with an occasional admixture of kana. Its interest for us is that it reveals very clearly the kind of subjects which occupied the minds of the courtiers of the time. The current text is divided into six books, as follows: The first deals with Court affairs, such as official ceremonies; the second and third are entitled 'Miscellaneous matters'; the fourth has no title, but is similar to the fifth, which has the title '(Chinese) poetry'; the last is entitled 'Long verses'. In the miscellaneous sections will be found anecdotes about Emperors, stories of famous musical instruments, and many old legends, such as that of a demon on the Rashō Gate which cried out in admiration of the recitation of a passer-by, or of the goddess Benzaiten on Chikubu-shima, who taught someone the correct reading of an obscure phrase. There are, too, many

anecdotes about Chinese poems and about Confucianism. Indeed, the range of subjects is extremely wide, and it must be admitted that what we are considering here as a secular work does at one point treat of Buddha and the Gods. Nevertheless, this material plays only a minor part in the collection. In a society like that of the Heian Court, it would be surprising to find a collection of varied tales which did not make some reference to religion. But the main emphasis lies elsewhere.

Another figure of the late Heian period whose conversations have been recorded is Fujiwara Tadazane (1078-1162). These conversations, consisting mostly of anecdotes of real life, are found in two works, Chūgai-shō and Fuke-godan.[41] Neither is really a tale-collection, in the sense in which we have been using the term, but both embody much material of the setsuwa type, and, like Gōdan-shō, are of value for the light they cast upon the tastes and preoccupations of the Heian courtier.

The most noteworthy feature of works of this kind is the evidence they provide of the growing interest in the search for precedents, whether for Court ceremonial or for the conduct of everyday life, in the bygone heyday of Fujiwara society. This nostalgia is an outstanding characteristic of late Heian and Kamakura Court society. This same nostalgia, which in the field of tale literature expresses itself in the love of anecdotes explaining what Japanese call yūsoku-kojitsu 有職故實,

also lay behind the vogue for historical tales (rekishi-monogatari) like Eiga-monogatari. Works like Gōdan-shō or Fuke-godan, however, have not the literary status of rekishi-monogatari. Their anecdotes are recorded plainly and with no attempt at artistic presentation.

Mention must be made of a further type of work, of which there are two well-known examples in the twelfth century, Shumpi-shō and Fukuro-sōshi, both concerned with Japanese poetry and poets. These again are not tale-collections really, since a large part of both is taken up with poetics. But in addition to matters of poetic form, they include a certain amount of setsuwa-type material dealing with poems and poets. Some parts resemble the poem-tale style of Ise-monogatari, others quote legends associated with certain poems. Not surprisingly, in works which treat of Japanese poetry, the language used is Japanese. Shumpi-shō, in two books, is by Minamoto Toshiyori, hence the other names by which it is known, Toshiyori-zuinō, Toshiyori-kuden-shū and Toshiyori-mumyō-shō. Its date is unknown, but cannot be later than ca.1124, the date of the author's death. Likewise unknown is the exact date of Fukuro-sōshi, in four books, by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, who died in 1177.

Though in earlier tale literature there is an abundance of Chinese anecdotes, both Buddhist and otherwise, no collection had been devoted exclusively to Chinese subjects. The

Kamakura period, however, produced three such collections. The first (1204) is a translation into Japanese by Minamoto Mitsuyuki of the T'ang-period Chinese children's book Mêng-ch'iu. Each of these tales of the careers of ancient figures in Chinese history is rounded off in the Japanese version with a 31-syllable poem, hence the title, Mōgyū-waka. The second collection of Chinese tales, Kara-monogatari, contains 27 historical and literary anecdotes from such monuments of Chinese literature as Shih-chi, Han-shu, Ch'ang-hên-ko etc., freely translated into Japanese. There is said to be a manuscript of this collection copied by Saigyō, but according to Nomura[42] it is unlikely that the work was written early enough for that to be possible. However, it is clearly not later than the Bun-ei period (1264-75), since there exists a colophon of that date. Though they have a certain didacticism and even a Buddhist flavour about them, most of the stories are love-stories. The third of this group of works, Kara-kagami, also has a certain Buddhist flavour, although its stories are all historical tales translated from the same kind of works as those of Kara- monogatari. It was written by Fujiwara Shigenori in his old age, after he had taken orders in 1294. The style is to some extent modelled on that of Ōkagami, Ima-kagami etc.

Two collections, Kiribi-no-oke and Guhi-shō, consist of anecdotes about poetry. Both are of unknown date, but the first is attributed to, and the second may also be by, Fujiwara

Teika. Along with these, we may class a collection of anecdotes by Fujiwara Takamichi about music and musical instruments, Kyōkun-shō, which dates from about 1232-33.

There remain three collections of a less specialized kind, comprising, that is to say, stories of different types. Imamonogatari, attributed to a half-brother of Teika named Nobuzane and written soon after 1239, consists of 53 quite short tales of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, love-stories, tales about poems, comic tales, etc. This is a relatively small collection, far surpassed in size by two others which were completed in 1252 and 1254 respectively, Jikkin-shō and Kokon-chomon-jū.

The former is frankly didactic, aiming to instruct children by means of brief tales in ten general principles of conduct. Although the most likely candidate for the disputed authorship of the work is a lay priest named Rokuhara Jirōzaemon (and the preface in several places speaks of Buddhism), the ten precepts are basically Confucian, but occasionally simply practical. The first concerns the relationship between sovereign and subject; the second warns against arrogance; the third against hatred or contempt, the fourth against slanderous talk; the fifth concerns the choice of friends and of wives, the sixth loyalty, filial piety etc.; the seventh concerns success in life, the eighth forbearance and endurance; the ninth admon-

ishes against bearing resentment, while the tenth advises the mastery of some accomplishment. The most common text has some 30 stories expounding, for example, the need for talent and learning, the equal importance of civil and military pursuits and the importance of music. Despite the didactic intention, the stories are not always very apt illustrations of the precepts, and many appear to be included for their interest alone. The sources are many and varied, the majority of the stories being taken from works dealt with in this chapter.

A similarly wide range of sources was used by the author of Kokon-chomon-jū, Tachibana Narisue. This collection is perhaps second only to Konjaku in extent, comprising in twenty books about 700 tales classified into thirty sections. The coverage is vast, and the list of titles of the sections could well serve as a conspectus of the whole field of tale literature --- Shinto deities, Buddhism, government and loyal ministers, public (Court) affairs, literature (mainly Chinese poetry), Japanese poetry, music, singing and dancing, calligraphy, love, military valour, archery, horsemanship, wrestling and strong men, painting, football, gambling, robbery, congratulatory (Court) ceremonies, grief, pleasure trips, attachment to worldly hopes, quarrels, humorous sayings, mystery, supernatural beings, food and drink, plants and trees, and finally fish,

insects, birds and animals. The presence of a section on Buddhism and of Buddhist elements elsewhere (the last section, for instance, has stories of the achievement of Buddhahood by non-human creatures) does not, of course, alter the fact that this is a secular collection. The Buddhist section, small though it is, was essential in an encyclopaedic work such as this is, and Buddhist elements could hardly fail to appear among so many stories of a society permeated by that faith. But this is no Buddhist propaganda. Narisue was a painter, and the work was originally conceived as a collection of anecdotes to serve as subjects for pictures. However, the scale of the work suggests that it may have somewhat outgrown this purpose.

Throughout Kokon-chomon-jū there runs that nostalgia for the splendour and elegance of a bygone age and that interest in its manners and customs which has already been mentioned. Narisue is very conscious, and tells us in his preface, that his work is in the tradition of the 'enlightened tales' of Ōe Masafusa and the 'clever stories' of the Dainagon (Great Counsellor) of Uji, i.e. Minamoto Takakuni (1004-1077). (The former is the author of Gōdan-shō, Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den and similar works, and the latter of a now-lost collection entitled Uji-dainagon-monogatari, which is mentioned in the preface to Uji-shūi.) Yet along with traditional tales of Court life,

he occasionally includes local, popular tales.

It must be emphasized that the Uji-dainagon-monogatari to which reference has just been made should not be confused with an existing work of that title, also of setsuwa type. This is a collection in three books of 54 tales which are re-tellings in wording close to the originals, of tales in earlier works. About five-sixths of these stories are from Heian monogatari and zuihitsu, such as Yamato-monogatari, Eiga-monogatari and Makura-no-sōshi, though the largest number of this group come from Kohon-setsuwa-shū. Mostly these tales concern poems. The remaining one-sixth of the work, though its stories still contain poems, has slightly longer tales, of the kind found among the secular tales of Konjaku and Uji-shūi. This Uji-dainagon-monogatari appears to be a slightly altered version of a collection in one book, containing 56 tales, called Yotsugi-monogatari. (The two collections have 50 tales in common, whose wording corresponds exactly.) It was formerly thought that the last section of these collections was a late addition to the first, which had been composed in the early Kamakura period.[43] The most recent theory on their date, however proposed[44] since the publication of Kohon, places Yotsugi not long after Kokon-chomon-jū (1254) and Uji-dainagon-monogatari, which incorporates 4 stories from Jikkin-shō, a little later. These collections are of some interest in the study of Uji-shūi

and related works, firstly because they contain 1 story from Uji-shūi, 5 from Konjaku and 13 from Kohon, and secondly because a manuscript of Yotsugi in one book, known as Koyotsugi, is included in two texts of Uji-shūi as if it formed part of that work.

We may now turn to the works referred to earlier as 'mixed' collections. Since a detailed discussion of parallels between Uji-shūi on the one hand, and Konjaku, Kohon and Kojidan on the other, and of the problems of their dates and interrelationships will form a major part of this study, there is no need here to do more than briefly describe the nature of these works.

Konjaku-monogatari, or Konjaku-monogatari-shū, whose title is derived from the on readings of the Chinese characters used in the opening formula of each of its stories (ima wa mukashi), contains well over 1,000 tales, some made up of more than one anecdote. In its present form, it is divided into thirty-one books, of which the eighth, eighteenth and twenty-first and some individual stories in other books are not extant, but there is some doubt whether the work was in fact completed. It is divided into three sections, the first five books containing Indian stories, all Buddhist except a few folktales in book 5; the next five containing Chinese stories, the majority Buddhist; and the remainder containing Japanese stories, books 11-20 on Buddhist themes and the rest mainly secular.

The Buddhist sections are full of tales in the tradition outlined earlier. Undoubtedly the most interesting parts of the work are the non-Buddhist ones, for the Buddhist stories tend to follow stereotyped formulas, with often a whole group of stories being little more than variations on a single theme. (The probable reason for this mixture of secular tales with Buddhist propaganda will be discussed in Chapter 2.) The main themes treated in the various books are as follows:-

1-3. The birth, life, teaching and entry into Nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni.

4. The propagation of the Law by Buddha's disciples after his death.

5. Jātaka and other stories of the period before Śākyamuni.

6. The spread of Buddhism into and within China.

7. Miracles associated with the Dai-Hannya (Mahā-prajñā) and the Lotus Sūtras.

9. Tales of filial piety.

10. Strange tales from Chinese histories and other books.

11. The introduction of Buddhism to Japan and legends about the founding of famous temples.

12. Buddhist services, and the merit of reciting sūtras.

13. Mainly the virtue of the Lotus Sūtra.

14. Mainly miracles associated with the Lotus Sūtra.
15. Mainly examples of priests reborn in Amida's Paradise.
16. Miracles of Kannon.
17. Mainly miracles of Jizō.
19. Examples of laymen reborn in Amida's Paradise, and strange tales of Buddhism.
20. Tengu, revival after death, and immediate retribution for sin and reward for virtue.
22. The Fujiwara family.
23. Prodigious feats of strength (women as well as men).
24. Anecdotes about artistic matters (largely concerning the genesis of poems).
25. Warriors.
26. Secular tales explained by the workings of karma.
27. Tales of the supernatural.
28. Humorous anecdotes.
29. Criminals, and strange tales about animals.
30. Love-stories of the poem-tale type.
31. Strange tales (of the capital, the provinces, and also of ancient times).

Both the exact date and the identity of the compiler(s) of Konjaku are unknown. Since the description given in the preface to Uji-shūi of the content of Takakuni's Uji-dainagon-

monogatari calls to mind that of Konjaku, a tradition grew up that Konjaku was the work of Takakuni. He was supposed to have compiled it while in summer retreat at Uji, entertaining passers-by and persuading them to tell stories, which he then wrote down. For reasons discussed in Chapter 6, this tradition has long been discredited, and modern scholarship places the date of compilation several decades after the date of Takakuni's death (1077). It is clear, too, that it was not composed entirely from oral sources. Some stories undoubtedly come from such sources, but for the majority of stories in the work, literary sources have been established, some of which are followed by Konjaku very closely. The variety of its sources, from contemporary popular tales to Buddhist sūtras, is reflected in its style, the first twenty books (and particularly the first ten) showing very clearly the influence of Chinese.

Konjaku is important in the history of Japanese literature for several reasons. Its linguistic importance has already been mentioned. It provides a rich fund of material to specialists in fields of study such as social history, popular religion etc. Above all, its often skilfully told tales give a picture of the times which is not only wide in range but very lively.

Kohon-setsuwa-shū is a recently discovered collection, whose very existence was unknown before the only extant

manuscript came to light in 1943. Though declared a 'National Treasure' in 1949, it was not published until 1955, when it appeared, edited by Kawaguchi Hisao, in the Iwanami Bunko series. No full commentary has yet been devoted to it.

It is divided into two books, one containing 46 mostly very short tales about poems, of which a few have some connection with Buddhism, and the other, 24 popular Buddhist tales, the majority of which concern miracles worked by Kannon. All the tales in book 1 are Japanese. 3 of those in book 2 are Indian, but none are Chinese. All the stories begin in Konjaku fashion, with ima wa mukashi, but the style is very different from that of Konjaku, a pure Japanese style with an older flavour.

The importance of Kohon for the study of both Uji-shūi and Konjaku cannot be over-emphasized. 38 of its stories (19 in book 1 and 19 in book 2) are found also in Konjaku[45], and 23 (11 in book 1 and 12 in book 2) in Uji-shūi. 15 of the stories are found in both Konjaku and Uji-shūi. 2 of the stories parallel with Konjaku also appear in Uchigiki. Besides these parallels, there are many with other Heian works, such as Eiga-monogatari, Ōkagami and Shumpi-shō, from all of which Kohon[46] is thought to have taken material. Kawaguchi points out that only for 6 stories can no parallels be found.

The identity of the compiler is unknown. So too is the

exact date of its composition, but Kawaguchi deduces[47] from internal evidence that it was probably written about 1130. The manuscript of Kohon is believed to date from the early Kamakura period, by which time the original title seems to have been lost. The title which the work now bears is a makeshift one, the full form being Umezawa-bon-Kohon-setsuwa-shū, after the name of the present owner of the manuscript.

Uji-shūi-monogatari is usually thought to have been compiled in the early Kamakura period (ca. 1213-19), by some person unknown. Though I hope to show that the basis for this dating of the whole work is not reliable, there can be little doubt that some of the stories were written about that time. Unfortunately, no manuscript earlier than the Muromachi period survives, and the only complete ones date from the Tokugawa period. As printed in most modern editions, the stories which the work comprises are divided into fifteen books, but it seems very doubtful whether the original text was divided in the same way. In any case, the division into books is not based on differences in subject-matter, for Uji-shūi does not arrange stories in classified groups like Konjaku, and seems not to be organized according to any particular plan. (This lack of organization is emphasized by the variation in the introductory formulas, as opposed to the regular ima wa mukashi of Konjaku and Kohon.) Nor can the work be thought to

have any particular purpose, except as a collection of interesting tales. The stories are of many kinds, Buddhist and secular, serious and humorous, Japanese and foreign. They are almost all written in a Japanese style like that of Kohon.

Some 50 Uji-shūi stories are not found in any other work, and many of these must certainly have been recorded from tales current among the people. But undoubtedly the most striking thing about the work is the great number of stories which it has in common with other works, particularly Konjaku, Kohon, Uchigiki and Kojidan. There are nearly 90 parallels with Konjaku, some very close. The closest of all are the parallels with Kohon. Possible reasons for these close relationships, and the interpretations that have been placed on the preface to Uji-shūi, according to which it is derived from Takakuni's Uji-dainagon-monogatari, will be discussed in Chapters 5-7. But it should perhaps be said at the outset that the majority of Japanese scholars consider the relationships between Uji-shūi Konjaku, Kohon and Uchigiki to be indirect.

The one work containing a number of parallels with Uji-shūi which is widely thought to have a direct relationship with it is Kojidan. This was written by Minamoto Akikane at some time in the period 1212-15. It is divided into six books, according to subject-matter. The first contains largely stories of yūsoku-kojitsu type concerning Emperors and Empresses, though

it also contains some of a different kind, such as the legend of Urashima. The second deals with famous non-Imperial secular figures such as Ban Yoshio, Sei Shōnagon, Ono no Komachi, Narihira, etc. The third comprises tales of famous priests. The fourth is entitled 'Brave warriors', telling of Masakado, Sumitomo, Yoriyoshi, Yoshiie and others. The fifth deals with Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, and the last contains a mixture of stories, some concerning mansions but others concerning various arts such as music, dancing, wrestling, divination etc. The sources of Kojidan include Buddhist ōjō-den, works like Gōdan-shō, diaries, histories and tale-collections like Konjaku. Not only are some of its items very brief, but its narrative technique is extremely plain, and it is considered to have little literary value. Its style is inconsistent, varying according to its sources. There are a few items in Japanese kana-majiri style, but mostly it is written either in Chinese or in the curious hybrid of Chinese and Japanese known as hentai-kambun, 'abnormal Chinese'.

In conclusion, mention must be made of a sequel to the preceding work, namely Zoku-Kojidan, written by some unknown author in 1219. Though partly a continuation of Kojidan, it actually reproduces some stories from it. The division into books is roughly the same as in Kojidan, but Zoku-Kojidan differs in that the last of its six books contains Chinese

stories. Another difference is that it is in a pure Japanese style. Nomura, however, finds the style dull, and says that the content of the work has generally less relation to literature than that of Kojidan.[48] In particular, it must be made clear that, despite its date and its connection with Kojidan, this work seems to have no relationship whatever with Uji-shūi. It contains one tale remotely parallel with one in Uji-shūi(151), but the Zoku-Kojidan item is so brief that, like some in Kojidan and Gōdan-shō, it scarcely seems to merit description as a 'tale'.

Chapter Two

PROBLEMS AND ASPECTS OF TALE LITERATURE IN GENERAL

There are few fields of Japanese literature in the Heian and Kamakura periods which do not present the student with baffling problems, and that of tale literature is no exception. Besides the usual problems of dating and authorship, some works present others even more vital and fundamental, such as that of the very purpose for which they were compiled.

It may perhaps seem dangerous to speak of 'the field of tale literature', as though these collections of tales formed one homogeneous group. Nevertheless, I think there is ample justification for considering them all together. Firstly, as the outline of their development will have shown, it is not possible to draw hard and fast lines between the different types of collection. Even avowedly Buddhist propaganda like Ryōiki includes some non-Buddhist tales, while Kara-monogatari and Kara-kagami, with no ostensible Buddhist purpose, have a distinctly Buddhist flavour. Above all, the most important collections, Konjaku and Uji-shūi, and some works associated with them, cannot be said to belong to any one category, but are rather an amalgam of various traditions, with Buddhist miracle-tales accompanied by comic anecdotes of Court life,

edifying moral tales by stories of almost grotesque crudeness. In this respect, Uji-shūi goes even further than Konjaku, as it does not arrange its material in classified blocks of tales. Moreover, these mixed collections not only contain stories of almost all the kinds found in the different types of works, but make direct use of material from those works. Thus, if the field of tale literature is heterogeneous, at least none of its sub-fields is irrelevant to the study of a work like Uji-shūi.

Secondly, there is a basic similarity of attitude on the part of all the compilers of these tale-collections. Essentially, they are recording traditions or, in a wide sense, legends. Their aims in doing so were, of course, widely divergent; the proselytizing of Buddhist works is in strong contrast to the 'gossipy' flavour of some secular works. But all alike are concerned to present their narrative material as a record of fact, just as it had been handed down. This attitude remains more or less constant, no matter what the material may be. It is remarkable, indeed, that in Uji-shūi and Konjaku the same kind of introductory formulas are found in both folktale-type stories and in anecdotes of Court life, even in those concerning people who may have been still alive or at least were not long dead. In the latter case, the formula ima wa mukashi must be interpreted in a somewhat weaker sense than the 'once upon a time' of a fairy-tale;

but its use demonstrates clearly that the compilers' approach is akin to that of the traditional story-teller.

For this reason, it is important to investigate what part may have been played by oral tradition in the development of this genre. Studies of tale literature were until recently concerned to an overwhelming extent with establishing the interrelationships of different collections and attempting to determine the sources of individual stories by going back to earlier literature, either Japanese or foreign. It must be said that the achievements of pioneers in the work of tracing sources, such as Haga Yaichi, were very great indeed. But it must also be said that the search for sources has perhaps tended to be based on a somewhat too ready assumption that they were to be found in literature.

It is of course undeniable, and only to be expected, that these collections of traditional narratives borrow very freely from other types of work and from one another. In doing so, they often follow a common practice of story-tellers and name the source of their material. Sometimes sources are copied verbatim, or at least with only trivial alterations of wording; sometimes, where the language of the original is Chinese, the Japanese version may be little more than a literal translation. Thus there was much to encourage the concentration of study on literary, rather than oral, transmission of tales.

This was particularly true in the case of Konjaku and Uji-shūi. In the Tokugawa period, Konjaku had been regarded as the work mentioned in the preface to Uji-shūi as Uji-dainagon-monogatari, and above all as having been compiled in the manner there described, i.e. from the tales told by travellers entertained by Minamoto Takakuni. It was inevitable that serious research into parallels for Konjaku stories should soon explode the idea that Konjaku was all written down from travellers' tales, but the reaction against an obviously unreliable legend perhaps went too far. It was admitted that the parts of Konjaku for which no literary parallels could be found may have been compiled in some way from oral tradition. But in those sections, such as the Indian and Chinese and the Japanese Buddhist sections, where many literary parallels, often very close, could be adduced, the tendency was to emphasize the similarities and overlook small differences. Discrepancies of wording between the text of Konjaku and a presumed original were regarded as incidental, as the result, even, of whim on the part of the compiler of Konjaku; unless they were major variants, they were not thought to bring the relationship of Konjaku and the 'original' into question.[2]

Of course, it would be ridiculous to suggest that the

potentialities of this line of inquiry into literary parallels for stories in such collections as Konjaku have been exhausted. Indeed, a good illustration of the need for its continuation is provided by the researches of Imano into the work of Kiyoyuki. One of the tales found both there and in Konjaku (20/7) concerns the violation of the Empress[3] by a tengu. The existence of such a tale in Konjaku was considered by Nagano Jōichi[4] to be evidence that the compiler had anti-aristocrat and anti-Fujiwara tendencies (though Nagano's candidate for authorship was Takakuni, himself an aristocrat). This view can have force, if at all, only so long as the story is thought to be recorded in Konjaku for the first time. Now, however, we know that the story was recorded also by Kiyoyuki; and it was already known that the compiler of Konjaku was aware of the connection of another of his tales (16/17) with Kiyoyuki, since it states that the tale had been handed down after having been told by him. We cannot be sure whether the tengu story too was connected in the compiler's mind with Kiyoyuki. But even if it was not, the fact that Konjaku is not the only book to have recorded this story discreditable to an Empress must surely invalidate Nagano's conclusion.

Nevertheless, recent research has demonstrated convincingly that the factor of oral transmission in our collections deserves much more consideration than has generally been given

to it. It has always been obvious that this factor could not be left out of account altogether. We have seen that parts of Ryōiki originate in oral tradition; Kiyoyuki's tales were not, according to Imano[5], taken from books, but were based on his own experience or on hearsay; and Hokke-genki actually admits the lack of a literary basis for one of its stories, saying that its information came from old men.[6] Even in the case of Uji-shūi, which has more stories in common with other works than almost any other single collection, the sources of the folktale or fairy-tale type of stories, such as that of the old man with the wen on his cheek, or of 'salty' stories like that of Kotōda (Nos. 3 and 14 respectively), are clearly not to be sought in books. But nowadays the element of oral tradition has come to be recognized as a factor to be taken into account not only in the case of tales for which no literary parallels can be found, but even in some cases where they can.

For instance, Kawaguchi has shown[7] that there is reason to doubt Katayose's conclusion about the first eight stories of Konjaku, which was that they are derived directly from Kako-genzai-inga-kyō. Many elements in these Konjaku stories differ from the sūtra, and while some may have come from other Buddhist works, some, he thinks, cannot be explained as coming from any sūtra. He cites the case of Tun-huang pien-wen, whose stories are derived not directly from sūtras but from popular traditions

based on them, and claims that in the same way some of the 'foreign' stories in Konjaku may have been composed not from literary sources, but from oral tradition.

Again, Kunisaki Fumimaro has pointed out[8] that of 29 items in book 9 of Konjaku for which parallels are found in Ming-pao-chi, 27 are directly based on the originals, in fact are little more than free translations of them, but the remaining two (nos. 13 and 18) are only paraphrases. These he believes to be popular versions of the stories, even if not direct recordings of oral tradition by Konjaku.

Further, my own investigation of book 5 of Konjaku has revealed a curious inconsistency in the treatment of jātaka tales. Some retain the identifications of the characters with Śākyamuni, Devadatta etc., made in the Chinese texts on which these Konjaku stories are usually said to be based, but in others no identification is made. This would be less surprising if there were some obvious reason for the identification to be dropped from particular stories. But there is not, and it remains a mystery. Could it perhaps be that some stories were based on literary sources and others on oral traditions derived originally from Scripture but secularized by the elimination of the jātaka framework? This is not a fully adequate explanation, but I can find no other. I would add that two of the tales of jātaka origin in Konjaku (5/1 and 5/18) also occur in Uji-shūi

(91-2). But whereas Uji-shūi makes no identifications with Sākyamuni or any other figure in either tale, Konjaku does so in the second story but not in the first.

While admitting the importance of the factor of oral tradition in the development of tale literature, I think it behoves us to be clear what we mean by the term. It would most usually refer to stories circulated, say, by the normal process of gossip. This would be likely to preserve the broad outlines of the narrative but not necessarily the original phraseology. One can hardly imagine that ordinary people, with no training or experience as story-tellers, would have much aptitude, or for that matter concern, for the retention of the exact wording as a whole, though they would doubtless retain certain verbal formulas. What, then, are we to make of the suggestion[9] that certain stories in Uji-shūi and the versions of the same stories in other works may be independent recordings, at different times or in different places, of oral traditions, when there is a very striking similarity of wording, and only slight differences, between them? In such cases, the similarity is surely too extraordinarily close to result from transmission by ordinary people, particularly over a long period of time. If these stories are not literary borrowings, could such closeness of wording have been maintained except by specialists in the telling of tales?

Unfortunately we have no knowledge of what professional story-tellers might have circulated these stories. (Nor, it must be said, does much of the material of tale literature seem particularly suited, either in subject-matter or form, consisting as it does of very brief anecdotes, for recital by such people.) There is, however, one type of specialists for whom the purveying of short tales was an integral part of their activities, namely preachers. (Transmission of tales through preaching is, of course, oral transmission, though possibly only in a restricted sense, since the sources from which the preachers obtained their material might have been literary.) They used tales in the course of sermons designed to expound some scriptural text, as simple concrete illustrations of the points they wished to make. The stories would be presented in terms which the populace could understand; several of the surviving collections of sermons[10] are written in the colloquial language. The later the date, the more the tales seem to be preserved only in the form of synopses, rather than the full text. Clearly, they must have served as source-books for the preachers. Since they do not consist exclusively of tales, these collections of sermons are not usually considered under the head of tale literature. But there is undeniably a great affinity between the two types of collection, for the tales with which the sermons are illustrated are of precisely the same kind as those in the

Buddhist collections described in Chapter 1.

The question then arises whether Buddhist tale-collections had any direct connection with preaching. All, of course, are Buddhist propaganda, with varying degrees of didacticism. It is true that the compilation, and even the reading, of such things as accounts of the lives of saints and eminent priests will have had pious value and may have been an end in itself. Yet it seems probable that a good proportion of the vast corpus of Buddhist tales was assembled for some more practical purpose, as source-material, perhaps, for the use of preachers to popular audiences. Certainly there is a popular feel about the language used. To some extent this can be said even of the collections written in Chinese; at least, they have a simple style, often heavily influenced by Japanese and thus showing signs of the corruption of Chinese which was to lead, via the curious hybrid style known as hentai-kambun, 'abnormal Chinese', to the wakan-konkō-bun style. This style of Japanese is very different from the elegant kana-bun style of the golden age of Heian literature in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Konjaku, for instance, has none of the allusive vagueness and economy of words of, say, Genji-monogatari, being prolix, repetitive, and, to use an expressive Japanese term, setsumei-teki, 'explanatory'. One cannot but feel that it is just the style to have a down-to-earth popular appeal.

The 'popular' nature of the language of Buddhist tale-collections is matched by their content. The intellectual demands made by the religion embodied in the stories are never very high. The doctrines and teachings are of the simplest and most commonplace kind, typical of the beliefs which spread through the whole of Japanese society in the course of the Heian period and culminated in the great Pure Land movements of the thirteenth century; and they are presented in the most appealing form, illustrated by tales. It is worth noting in this connection a point stressed by Kawaguchi, concerning the nature of popular services in China and Japan. He describes the atmosphere at such services as that of a carnival, with all manner of means employed to appeal to and sway the minds of the congregation." The religious side was enlivened by such things as plays, musical performances and all kinds of attractive entertainments. An essential part of these blandishments was the telling of stories, and one can imagine that in the atmosphere described by Kawaguchi, the range of stories may have been fairly wide and their level may not always have been high. Almost any story may be made to bear some moral.

Even so, it must be said that some Konjaku stories are remarkably unedifying for a work containing so much Buddhist propaganda. Moreover, not only are the morals drawn sometimes very commonplace, but the points made are often rather strange,

and not at all what one would expect. For instance, in 29/40 a young priest dreams during a nap one afternoon that a beautiful woman comes and lies with him, then wakes to find a snake lying dead beside him, and realizes the reason for his dream. The snake had seen the priest's erect penis and taken it into its mouth, which had given the priest the impression of copulation. The snake had then died as a result of his ejaculation of semen. At the end of this rather curious tale, the writer does not make the comment one might expect, about lustful thoughts in a priest; he says only that 'one should not take a nap alone in a deserted spot', further pointing out that beasts, if they receive human semen, find it too much for them and die. Even more striking is the equivocal attitude to wrongdoers revealed in 28/44 and 29/23. In the former, a man sheltering in a cave is thought by a subsequent visitor to the cave to be a supernatural being, and taking advantage of this, makes off with the newcomer's possessions. It is true that he is described as 'utterly despicable'; but the writer also comments appreciatively on his resourcefulness - 'So we see how a quick-witted fellow, however humble his station, makes an unexpected gain even at a time like this, if he knows what's what and goes the right way about things.' In the latter (the story treated by Akutagawa in his Yabu no naka), a bandit lures a samurai and his wife into some woods, ties up the man

and rapes the wife. But the only criticism made is of the husband for his stupidity in giving his bow and arrows to a complete stranger in the heart of the mountains. No comment is made on the rape; instead, the bandit is praised for not having stolen the woman's clothes.

The same elements which will have given popular appeal to Buddhist tales - their simplicity of style, their concentration on narrative and ignoring of description and psychological analysis, their naïve concern with the curious or the miraculous - are also to be found in secular tales. Some writers go so far as to describe a work like Konjaku as 'literature of the common people', but the use of this term is justified only in the sense that its tales are not, like the typical Heian Court literature, limited to the activities of the Court circle, with the outside world appearing only vaguely and incidentally. Here we have peasants as well as noblemen, beggars as well as grandees. But this is no 'folk literature'. Though it may draw material from oral tradition, there is nothing to suggest that the traditions in question were any less current among the higher, cultured classes than among the lower, uncultured strata of society. One might imagine that a group so renowned for its insistence on elegance and refinement as the Court circle would have little or no interest in tales of the kind we are dealing with. That this is not so is, I think, very significant

The nobility were no less naive in their approach to Buddhism than the common people. They may have enjoyed the pomp and splendour of complicated forms of religious ceremony like that of Shingon, but intellectually they were just as ready as the common people to accept the simple doctrine of rebirth in Amida's Paradise or the promise of benefits on this earth, just as fond of magical hocus-pocus, just as riddled with superstition. We should not forget that it was for an Imperial Princess that Sambō-e was written and under the auspices of another that the preaching embodied in Hokke-hyakuza took place; nor that a famous scholar like Ōe Masafusa could compile a collection of ōjō-den, while such literary figures as Saigyō and Chōmei are thought to have compiled collections of Buddhist tales of almost all types. As for secular tales, it is particularly revealing that those two great scholars of Chinese, Kiyoyuki and Ki no Haseo had such a taste for stories of the supernatural as to make collections of them. In later times, too, the matter and manner of works like Gōdan-shō and and Kokon-chomon-jū show that a sophisticated court did not always insist on elegance and sophistication in the tales which it read.

It is this aspect of tale literature, its essentially universal appeal, which makes it particularly valuable for the student of the times. Without these tales, our picture of the

age would be incomplete, not only because the characters they depict are from all ranks of society, but also because they show us a side of the higher ranks which finds little expression in the more artistic literary productions of the Court. The latter have deservedly received most of the attention of scholars. But the atmosphere which they create is one of such over-subtle refinement, with such extreme emphasis on good taste and convention that it can sometimes be a relief to turn to works like Konjaku and Uji-shūi, like leaving a stuffy room for a breath of fresh air. However stereotyped some of their stories may be, others bring before us people of real flesh and blood.

Nevertheless, it seems a gross exaggeration to endow this portrayal of the down-to-earth side of Court life, as Masuda does, with great historical significance. Seeing a link between the steady increase in the number of tales about everyday life and the growing decadence or at least stagnation in the cultural life of the Court, he writes: 'The world of tales was also a sphere of life which the aristocratic society of the late classical period, shut in upon itself as it was, built up in an effort to break free.'[12] This somewhat curious conclusion is drawn after a discussion of the story (Konjaku 20/10 and Uji-shūi 106) of a certain Michinori's efforts to acquire the art of making people's penises disappear. We may certainly agree with

Masuda that Court nobles enjoyed such stories. But does this mean more than that they were ordinary men, with ordinary tastes? It suggests, not so much that they were struggling to free themselves from the limitations of their society, as that the picture which we have of that society, based on the romances of Court ladies, is too one-sided.

There is a similar tendency on the part of some writers to draw sweeping conclusions from a minimum of evidence as regards the extent to which the emergence of the warrior class at the end of the Heian period is reflected in tale literature. The historian Ishimoda, for instance, writes[13]: 'For the authors of monogatari literature, the sole reality was aristocratic and urban society, and because they never got beyond this, they were unable to find in reality anything new which might have helped them to be self-critical; therefore, after the two peaks of Utsubo and Genji, there was an inevitable decadence. But this is only one side of later Heian literature, and it is noteworthy that another important side had come into being, with the composition of such works as Shōmon-ki[14], Mutsu-waki[15] and Konjaku-monogatari. The authors of all these works are unknown, but it is remarkable that there had emerged writers who, from within the aristocracy, had an interest in samurai society and had discovered the existence of a different world outside urban and aristocratic society. Shōmon-ki depicts that ambitious hero

from Eastern Japan, Mutsu-waki depicts the toils of war on the frontier and the heroic knightly character of Yoriyoshi, and in addition the beauty of the relationship between lord and retainer. A comparison between the discovery of such a world and the account in Utsubo of Eastern warriors shows them to be so different in kind that it is difficult to think of their authors as coming from the same social class, but essentially they are only two types of reflective individual produced by the late Heian period. The realities of life in aristocratic and urban society, which was at a dead end and going to rack and ruin, inevitably produced a few writers for whom the stern human relationships and the spectacle of heroic generals in battle were a source of wonderment.' 'This was aristocratic society exercising self-criticism and facing up to a new world. Such an attitude could not give rise to fiction, such as the authors of monogatari produced. These writers... though their approach was that of simple factual recording, were at least trying to get at the real facts.' 'There was, too, a considerable lack of artistic feeling and polish, but if one assumes that the sole way for literature to advance was for aristocratic society to exercise self-criticism and rise above the actual world of the aristocracy, then the line of advance for the spirit of literature lay through the world discovered by Shōmon-ki and Konjaku-monogatari.'

Of course, implicit in this statement is the assumption, usual at the time when Ishimoda was writing, that Konjaku was the work of an aristocrat. In the light of the fact that scholarly opinion in Japan has to a great extent swung away from this idea, since it has been convincingly demonstrated[16] that the writer of Konjaku was not as well-read and learned as was formerly thought, and made mistakes unthinkable in an aristocrat of even average education, Ishimoda's assertions are perhaps quite invalid. But even if one retains the assumption of noble authorship of Konjaku, Ishimoda's statement surely makes a mountain out of a molehill. It is universally accepted that the three works he mentions contributed in some measure to the development of the 'war-tales', the most distinctive new prose form of the Kamakura period, when the leadership of the country had passed out of the hands of the Court aristocracy into the hands of the military class. Particularly in a linguistic sense Konjaku is a forerunner of the war-tales, though it must be said that its style gives little foretaste of the poetic grandeur which the best war-tales can achieve.[17] But the role of Konjaku should not be exaggerated. After all, the stories on which Ishimoda bases his statement, the dozen which make up book 25, constitute only about one-hundredth of the total. Indeed, many more stories than this could be cited to show that Konjaku harks

back nostalgically to the past, as well as anticipates the future.

It is true, of course, that there are many other places, besides the stories in book 25, where Konjaku reflects the changing nature of late Heian society. But these sidelights on the growth of the feudal society into which Japan was finally transformed do not seem to me to provide sufficient evidence to justify Nagano in claiming[18] to see in Konjaku the reflection of a society in such an unstable state that even in the relations between parents and children, between brothers and between husbands and wives, no-one could trust anyone else, so that everyone inevitably became an egoist acting according to his own instincts. Nagano describes the keynote of Konjaku as reason and determination, in contrast to the emotional nature of the literature of the middle Heian Court ladies; the qualities Konjaku admires are boldness and resourcefulness, qualities necessary for self-preservation in the society of the time. Nagano's views, like those of Ishimoda, are open to the objection that they are based largely on one part of the work, in this case the non-Buddhist Japanese section, amounting to a third of the whole. It is a simple matter to find in the Buddhist section stories preaching the very opposite of the opportunism which Nagano thinks so characteristic of Konjaku. Moreover, does Konjaku's praise of resourcefulness really have

the great significance with which Nagano invests it? Is it really any more than ordinary appreciative comment on common-sense or quick-wittedness? Nagano's admiration for the merits of Konjaku stories as literature is so unbounded that it perhaps makes his views on other aspects of them rather more forceful than is justified.

If the degree of Nagano's enthusiasm for Konjaku is almost unique, he is by no means alone in his championship of its literary qualities. Indeed, perhaps no-one would now maintain the view commonly held at one time, that it has no value other than as material for the student of folklore, religion, philology etc. To that extent, the status of tale literature has been raised, but it must be said that even now, few works besides Konjaku merit examination from a literary point of view. It is in fact almost the only work which has been discussed and analysed from this standpoint. Uji-shūi, because of its similarities with Konjaku, has, as it were, received some of the reflected glory of the larger work. Since the literary aspect of Uji-shūi will be treated in Chapter 3, the discussion of this development in studies of tale literature will here be confined to Konjaku.

One of the first to claim some literary merit for tale literature was Sakai Kōhei, in his pioneering study of Konjaku.[19] But perhaps a more notable supporter was the novelist Akutagawa,

who, as is well known, had made extensive use of tales from both Konjaku and Uji-shūi, taking from them material on which he based some eleven of his short stories. It is somewhat paradoxical, as Masuda points out[20], that he praises Konjaku stories for the way in which the psychology of their characters emerges naturally from the action, without explicit analysis, since it is this very simplicity of characterization in the original stories which allowed him with such ease to clothe the stories in modern psychological dress. Akutagawa's approach to Konjaku was highly individual and possibly even rather strange. For him[21], it was the 'Human Comedy' of the pre-feudal period, and its distinguishing characteristic was utsukushii namanamashisa, 'a beautiful freshness (literally 'rawness')'. He further particularly stresses its primitive forcefulness in a phrase which says much the same thing, but in the reverse order - brutality no utsukushisa, 'the beauty of brutality (by which he means the primitive or the wild)'. It is particularly interesting that he has praise for the Buddhist as well as for the non-Buddhist stories, describing how forcefully they bring home to him the fact that the super-natural elements of their foreign religion were a vital reality to the people of the time.

We have seen earlier something of Nagano's views on Konjaku. It was almost certainly the example of Akutagawa which fired

Nagano's interest[22], indeed he has even tried his hand at writing Akutagawa-type stories based on Konjaku originals. He characterizes Konjaku as 'the literature of action (kōdō)'.[23] Essentially, the qualities he sees in it (though it should be stressed that he is interested mainly in the secular stories) are those praised by Akutagawa. It shows us real people, with living instincts and intensely human reactions. But it is not only the matter which he values. He maintains that the best of the stories are little gems of short-story writing, composed with consummate skill and quite remarkable for their period. Nagano's candidate for the authorship of these stories is Takakuni, whose claims he has asserted with characteristic industry and energy (though accepting that there must be some later interpolations). Yet if Takakuni were indeed the author of the bulk of the work, this would mean that a writer who in Nagano's estimation should be ranked high in Japanese literary history was capable of churning out a great many dull and repetitious stories such as are found in the Buddhist section. Surely either Nagano exaggerates the skill with which the best stories are written, or much of the work must have been written by someone other than Takakuni.

Although Nagano's work has been done mostly since the war, it cannot be said to be quite typical of the post-war period. His persistent advocacy of the claims of Takakuni to be

considered the author of Konjaku, and in particular his readiness, in approaching it as literature, to make use of terms which ought properly to be confined to modern literary criticism, take him to some extent out of the main stream of post-war Konjaku studies. For instance, there has been a significant tendency in recent years to abandon the idea that Konjaku was the work of a single writer, and to postulate that it was the product of a number of people, presumably priests, in collaboration. This theory of multiple authorship[24] cannot be said to accord very well with the picture of Konjaku as a work of creative genius, particularly since seemingly conclusive evidence has now been produced that Konjaku was not written by such learned and cultured hands as was formerly thought. At the same time, while admitting that certain mistakes are made which would scarcely have been possible if the writing had been done by someone with the cultural background of the nobility, Kawaguchi points out[25] that Konjaku often seems to choose for detailed telling the most interesting parts of the stories which it borrows from other works. His explanation[26] of this apparent paradox is that the compilation was planned and supervised by a high-ranking aristocratic priest, whose discriminating eye is revealed by the choice of materials, but that the actual writing was done by priests of lower rank and inferior education who transcribed, mechanically and often so hastily

as even to omit phrases important in the narrative, tales told to them by the director of the project. This ingenious attempt to reconcile conflicting evidence, while at the same time bringing in an oral element, does not seem very convincing. It is true that Kawaguchi believes the work as it stands to be incomplete,[27] but even so his conjecture presupposes a remarkable slackness on the part of an otherwise discriminating director in not exercising more control over the manner in which his project was being executed.

If the post-war trend has been away from consideration of Konjaku as the work of an individual author (partly as a result of the new insistence on the importance of oral tradition in its composition), this has not meant that its literary qualities have ceased to find supporters. On the contrary, Konjaku may be said to have come into its own since the war, and to be far more widely appreciated. Its most convincing advocates are those who do not make wildly exaggerated claims for it. But it is now common, and not eccentric, to treat this collection of tales as exceptional in its genre, in that it can rise, in certain stories, to the level of literature (as that word is generally understood), written with skill and dealing with real human problems in a way which gives it more depth than is found in apparently similar collections. Indeed, some students of tale literature would restrict the use of that term to those

tales or groups of tales which measure up to this literary standard. Nishio[28], for instance, talks of the need to discover what makes the 'pre-literary' tale into 'tale literature', while Masuda[29] stresses that committing a tale to writing does not necessarily produce 'tale literature'.

In what, then, does the difference lie between the best Konjaku stories and the ordinary run of stories, whether in Konjaku or elsewhere? It is certainly not a marked difference of kind. It is true that the approach of the tales of everyday life (not including Buddhist tales, folktales or local legends) is not quite the same as that of the yūsoku-kojitsu or anecdotes about ceremonies, public occasions and protocol. Recorders of the latter type of tale seem to have found it sufficient to restrict their accounts to the barest outline of events. Nishio[30] describes collections of such tales as being a kind of index for reference, the style being appropriately concise for that purpose. Tales of everyday life, on the other hand, tend to be more circumstantial and detailed. For all the conciseness of yūsoku-kojitsu, which is perhaps accentuated when they are written in Chinese, I do not think that in collections composed in Japanese, one is unduly conscious of any fundamental difference in feeling between this and other types of story. This is particularly true of Konjaku, whose standardized narrative formulas show the author's basically

similar attitude to all his material, though undoubtedly greater detail in the telling of a story usually makes it more effective and realistic.

It is not only in narrative technique, however, that some tales are superior to others, but also in their degree of human understanding and portrayal of human nature. Again, it must be emphasized that their superiority does not result from any fundamental difference in technique. If their characters come alive, this is not through explicit analysis of their motives and feelings. Character portrayal remains indirect, the psychology emerging naturally from the action. It perhaps goes without saying that the use of the terms 'character portrayal' and 'psychology' should not be thought to imply any great subtlety in Konjaku. Tales of this kind are clearly not a medium for depicting complex mental states or expressing fine nuances of feeling. But they are capable of showing us real people. 'Every time I opened Konjaku-monogatari,' says Akutagawa,[31] 'Iseemed to hear the people of those times sending up their cries of grief or merriment.' Inelegant and often naive it may be, but it is of most interest for its concern with the activities and natural reactions of ordinary men and women.

Its simplicity and naïveté may well tend on occasion to distract the reader from a realization of its effectiveness. This is so in the case of the story (19/14) of which Akutagawa

made use in his Ōjō-emaki. A sinful and ferocious man named Gendayū comes upon a priest conducting a (Pure Land) Buddhist service, and having forced him to expound the benefits of belief in Amida, wishes to become a priest himself; he is unable to persuade the priest to administer the tonsure to him, but does it himself and marches off westward in search of Amida. Masuda,[32] who discusses this story at great length, points out that a comparison with the versions of the story in other collections shows up the effectiveness in Konjaku of the passage where the priest converts Gendayū by answering his questions, giving an exposition of Buddhism in a nutshell. In Hōbutsu-shū, Hosshin-shū and Shishū-hyaku-innen-shū, this passage is rather compressed and much less appealing than in the more detailed Konjaku version. A particularly human, if rather comical, touch in Konjaku is that when Gendayū marches off in search of Amida, he calls as he goes, 'Hey, Amida Buddha! Ahoy there, ahoy there!', whereas in the other collections he calls simply, 'Amida Buddha!' or 'Hail, Amida Buddha!'.

Even more revealing comparisons can be made where Konjaku stories have parallels in collections of the Gōdan-shō or Fuke-godan type, whose stories are generally very concisely told. A good example, quoted by Masuda,[33] is the Konjaku story (19/26) of Kinsuke, whose father becomes so ashamed of his son for his bad shooting one day at the archery ground that he strikes him.

The son makes no attempt to run away and avoid the blows, explaining afterwards that if he had run away, his father, being old and infirm, might have fallen while chasing him. Masuda reproduces the version of this tale recorded from the conversations of Fujiwara Tadazane (though it does not appear in Fuke-godan, the most widely current text of Tadazane's tales), which is so brief that it is little more than an outline of the incident (it also gives a different name to the father). On the other hand, the Konjaku story is very explicit, with a wealth of detail which not only makes the action more vivid but also makes the situation slightly more interesting in that, although Kinsuke's father thinks he has simply shot badly, he has in fact had a temporary black-out and not been able to see properly. The problem is, which version is closer to the form of the story as it was commonly known. Is the Konjaku version a more or less faithful reproduction, or has it improved on the tradition? Masuda, who believes that these stories of everyday life were circulated in a fairly circumstantial form, suggests[34] that the skeleton Tadazane version must be a reduction from a fuller tale, and with this we can perhaps agree. When he further suggests, however, that the writer of Konjaku, understanding the subtle human relationships sketched out in the oral tradition, consciously added to them and made them more complex, it is a little more difficult to

follow him. For while it seems not unreasonable to assume more detail in a tradition than appears in Tadazane's tale, there can surely be no reason, other than a desire to give some credit to the writer of the Konjaku story, to suppose that the original tradition had less detail than now appears in Konjaku. It is perhaps as well to mention that, however good the Konjaku version of the Kinsuke story may be, its effect is somewhat spoiled by its use as propaganda; the writer rounds off this story by having a priest comment that Kinsuke must have been a Bodhisattva, since no ordinary person could have acted in this way. However, it does show, like the Gendayū story, that it is not only in the non-Buddhist section of the work that one can look for skilful touches, both in narrative technique and in motivation.

The purpose of this chapter has been to indicate the main trends in the study of tale literature. Inevitably, because it is the collection on which most work has been done, Konjaku has loomed large, but nothing that has been said can be regarded as irrelevant to the consideration of Uji-shūi in view of the number of stories which the two works have in common. It will now be my purpose, in the remainder of this study, to examine Uji-shūi in detail, to discuss its relationship with Konjaku and other works and to attempt an assessment of its

position in the history of tale literature.

Chapter Three

UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI - I

CONTENT, STYLE AND LITERARY QUALITIES

Content

Summaries of all the stories contained in Uji-shūi, here referred to by numbers, are given in an appendix to this study, on pp.250-355.

All but one of the eleven texts of Uji-shūi available to Watanabe and Nishio for use in the preparation of their edition are described by them[1] as probably dating from the Tokugawa period. The one exception is a fragment which they say was considered by Ikeda Kikan to have been copied in the late Muromachi period. They name several texts to which they did not have access, though they do not indicate their age (these texts have as yet been insufficiently studied).

The text on which almost all modern editions[2] are based is the 1659 printed edition, though its main virtue seems to be that it is the only one to contain a complete version of the preface, the text itself being often corrupt or defective. The detailed textual history of the work need not concern us

here, particularly since textual variations are said[3] not to be sufficiently marked to justify the setting up of distinct groups. What must be pointed out, however, is the variations in the way in which different texts divide the work into books. This will be clear from Table 2 (pp.360-363), based on the more detailed table given by Watanabe and Nishio.[4] There are texts in 2, 4, 5 and 8 books, instead of the 15 of the 1659 edition. Indeed, there is even a version of the latter in 16 books, the 16th consisting of the table of contents and the preface. In several places, the dividing line falls before a story in one text but after it in another. Thus the divisions seem to be almost entirely arbitrary, possibly a matter of convenience. This impression from the figures alone becomes almost a certainty if we take into account the fact that several of the divisions between books actually fall between stories which are clearly linked by their subject-matter. The most striking case of this occurs between stories 52 and 53, which are both fox-stories but in the 15-book text and also in the texts numbered in Table 2 I, V, VI and VII are in different books. In the 15-book text, we find three further examples, a division between two Jizō stories, 82-3, between two Indian stories both of jātaka origin, 91-2, and between two stories, 174-5, in which a holy man tests his disciple's power to resist temptation, the second of which actually refers back to the first. For

this reason, I propose in discussing Uji-shūi to ignore all divisions into books and treat the work as one sequence of stories, numbered from 1 to 197, according to the convenient and straightforward method of Watanabe and Nishio. In my summaries of the stories, however, I have for purposes of reference in each case indicated in brackets the more usual numbering according to the division of the work into 15 books.

We have seen that tale-collections commonly present their material in classified groups of stories, though the categories may be somewhat broad, few works being as highly-organized as Konjaku, with its regional classification, its further subdivision into groups of tales with similar themes and its arrangement of tales within the groups mostly in pairs, with links, by association of ideas, not only within the pairs, but also between one pair and the next.[5]

Uji-shūi contains many such pairs of stories with similar subject-matter or similar characters. A few examples have already been mentioned in connection with the division into books. Some other very obviously associated pairs are 5-6 (about deceitful begging priests), 12-13 (about temple novices), 20-21 (about Jōkan), 44-5 (about Jizō), 74-5 (about beijū or sarugaku performers), 109-110 (about image-making), 115-6 (about Myōsen), 137-8 (stories of India), 141-2 (magical cures),

155-6 (tiger stories), 167-8 (about rebirth on a lower-than-human level), 172-3 (about flying begging-bowls) and 176-7 (about strong men). There is sometimes an unmistakeable link or association of ideas even when there is less direct similarity of subject-matter or characters, e.g. 1-2 (impurity in priests), 14-15 (humour involving genitals), 34-5 (disconcerting behaviour by a woman with her lover), 50-51 (notoriety - and here lack of success - as a lover), 60-61 (dying words), 107-8 (incarnations of Kannon), 196-7 (Chinese philosophers). Some links are rather less obvious, e.g. 18-19 (enormous feasts of root vegetables), 76-7 (disastrous naïveté), 112-113 (sons-in-law), 132-3 (basking in false glory), 162-3 (processions) and 188-9 (characters who are fushō, i.e. low-grade officials of the Guards or of the police, though the first of the two stories does not actually mention the fact). Occasionally the link extends over more than two stories, e.g. 27-9 (and possibly 30-31 as well) are all examples of narrow escapes, 40-43 and 146-150 are all tales containing poems, 152-7 are all stories of China. In 57-9, there seems to be a double link, the first two items associated by the mention of a bodai-kō, a ceremony of readings and expositions of the Lotus Sūtra, and the second and third by their general theme (extraordinary facts about famous priests, one having been a criminal and one having ordered his men to perform an act of barbarity in order

to strengthen his disgust with this world). In a few cases, one item consists of two parts which can be regarded as forming a pair of stories, e.g. 62, 78.

It is not possible, however, to establish such links for all the stories in the work. Many seem to have no link with their context. Nor is it possible to discern any overall scheme of arrangement. There is no systematic grouping of Buddhist and secular elements in separate sections. Though between a third and a half of Uji-shūi stories have Buddhist connections, they are distributed throughout the work. Thus it differs radically from Konjaku, which gives the impression of being Buddhist propaganda that has somewhat exceeded its original bounds. Uji-shūi gives the impression of being a collection of interesting stories which happens to include a number about Buddhism and Buddhist priests.

Nevertheless, most of the usual themes of Buddhist tale literature are represented. For example, extreme piety or religious zeal is illustrated by the figure of Hankyū, 73, whose faith in Amida prevents him from ever allowing his back to be turned to the west, or by that of Takatada's retainer, 148, who, though ill-clad against the cold, uses a coat given him by his master as the present which he needs to offer to the priest whose disciple he wishes to become. Sometimes such zeal may enable the believer to endure extreme humiliation

in a good cause, as in 144, or it may lead to eccentric and even apparently cruel conduct, as in 59.

Piety and faith may be rewarded in different ways. For the believer in Amida, such as Ninkai, 194, the reward is rebirth in Paradise after death. Trust in other divinities, such as Bishamon, 192, but more particularly Kannon, is usually found to bring rewards in this present life. For instance, when the believer is in difficulties and calls on Kannon, the Bodhisattva may present herself in different guises to bring help, e.g. as a snake, saving the hawk-catcher in 87, or as a serving-woman, aiding the girl of Tsuruga in 108. The source of such help is usually revealed later, as by the sword stuck into the sūtra in 87 or the skirt found hanging on the statue in 108.

Along with faith and piety, acts of self-sacrifice are lauded, e.g. the refusal of the General of the Left to jeopardize his colleague's safety by having prayers said on his own behalf, 183. Particularly praiseworthy is self-sacrifice or at least self-denial in order to save animal life, as in 7 and 164.

Just as faith and good works bring their rewards, so does sin bring awful retribution, though Uji-shūi has no stories, like that in Konjaku of the man whose mouth becomes permanently crooked after he has abused a priest[6], in which punishment for

sin is immediate. The fate of the sinner may be torment in Hell, as in 102, where Toshiyuki is to be abandoned to the revenge of those people for whom he had made copies of sūtras which brought them no merit because of the lascivious life of the copyist, or as in 112, where sinners are made to drink molten copper; or it may be rebirth in some other form of life, whether as a demon tormented by the fires of anger, 134, or as an animal, e.g. a snake, 57, a sheep, 167, a fish, 168 - or even as a mushroom, 2. For those who have become animals, all is not lost, for one may still be fortunate enough, like the snake in 57, to hear a sūtra recited, which will enable one to rise again to the human level. For the sinner destined for Hell, there is always a chance that a respite may be granted to enable him to repair the situation which brought him to the judgment-hall of King Yama (Emma), as in 45, or to counterbalance his sins by fulfilling some pious vow. These respites appear to be most commonly the result of intercession by Jizō (indeed, in 83, Jizō is actually identified with Yama), on account of even the most perfunctory show of reverence accorded him during the sinner's life.

The miraculous, supernatural element looms no less large in the tales of historical Buddhist figures than in those of Bodhisattvas. This is hardly surprising with extremely remote figures such as Daruma (Bodhidharma), 137, Upagupta, 174, or

Hai-yün, 175, or with slightly less but still fairly remote Japanese figures such as Jōkan (late ninth century). But it is equally true of priests who cannot have been long dead when written about, such as Chikai, 65. This was after all an age when magic and superstition were an accepted part of life, when exorcism was a normal treatment for illness, e.g. 9, 53, 141 and 191, and when prayers and incantations were considered an effective means of ending a drought, 20. The ability to perform such tasks was to some extent the measure of a priest's holiness. And yet one cannot help feeling that these stories of the magical powers of priests are told as much for their intrinsic interest as for their impressiveness as evidence of the power of Buddhism - particularly where the purpose of the magic seems somewhat less elevated than it might be, if not, indeed, positively unworthy. How uncharitable, though human, for instance, is the behaviour of the itinerant priest who is so annoyed at missing a ferry-boat that he casts a spell to overturn it, depositing all the innocent passengers in the water, 36. Indeed, he vows to renounce the 'Three Treasures' of Buddhism if his spell does not work. The fact that it does, according to the narrator, shows how the Three Treasures are still with us, even in these degenerate latter days. But this can hardly be called an inspiring example of their power.

This is by no means the only example in Uji-shūi of curious,

not to say reprehensible, behaviour in Buddhist priests. There are, for example, the priest in 130 who arbitrarily puts up a notice announcing that a dragon will rise out of a certain pond; the priest in 133 who announces his intention to drown himself, presumably in order to go sooner to Paradise, but fails to go through with it; the holy man in 145 whose claims never to eat cereals are disproved by the examination of his excreta; the wandering priest in 5 who pretends to have inserted the Zuigu Dharani into his head; and the wandering priest in 6 who has concealed his penis in order to pretend to have cut off this source of worldly care. Sometimes a religious point is made in stories of reprehensible behaviour, as in that of Kūsuke, 109, whose frauds, it is said, must surely nullify the merit of having an image made. But such stories, for all that their characters are priests or the subject is in some way connected with religious matters, can clearly not really be called Buddhist at all. Even a tale like that of the founding of an initiation-hall by the High Priest Jie, 69, though basically about a serious fact of Buddhist history, is 'Buddhist' only in a most superficial sense. Even more significantly, two or three tales which in origin, or at least as they appear in other works, are Buddhist or have a definite religious element, have in their Uji-shūi version no such religious point. Thus the tale of Sōkyata, 91, and that of the five-coloured

deer, 92, are in origin jātaka tales[7], in which Sōkyata and the deer are previous incarnations of Śākyamuni, but in Uji-shūi no identification with the Bodhisattva is made. Another example of an Uji-shūi story lacking the religious element which it has elsewhere is that of Tadaakira, 95. This will be examined later, in my detailed discussion in Chapter 4 of the correspondences between Uji-shūi and other works.

Particularly interesting, too, are a few tales which, where they appear in Konjaku, are followed by comments on their religious and moral implications, whereas Uji-shūi seems to tell the tales for their own sake, without any attempt to draw a moral. Notable examples of this are the story of the boy and his sister stranded on an island, US 56[8], that of the hunter who saves and marries a girl destined as a human sacrifice, US 119, and that of Heichū's chance discovery of a block of precious metal in a poor woman's house, US 161. In Konjaku, these stories are all contained in book 26, which bears the general title shukuhō, 'the workings of karma', and the compiler makes a point of rounding off each one with the remark that the things which happened to the characters were undoubtedly brought about by the karma of their previous lives. It seems clear that Konjaku has here pressed ordinary non-religious stories into the service of propaganda. Yet another example is the tale of Akihira, US 29, which is followed in both Uji-shūi and

Konjaku by the comment that even when engaged on secret love-affairs one should beware of visiting humble dwellings, but which in Konjaku concludes with the further comment that Akihira must have been saved by his good karma, and is therefore included in book 26 as an example of shukuhō. An especially striking case is the tale of Michinori's attempts to learn the black arts from a district governor, US 106. While Uji-shūi adds no word of comment whatever, Konjaku moralizes at some length, not only sharply criticizing any rejection of the Buddhist Law in favour of evil things (it likens such a course to e.g. 'jumping into a deep pool with a rock clasped in one's arms'), but going so far as to condemn the Emperor Yōzei himself for having stooped to such practices.

In the light of such examples, it is curious that Nakajima should seem to imply[9] that Uji-shūi is more conspicuously didactic than Konjaku. He says that whereas the comments in Uji-shūi are clearly additions to the stories by the compiler, he agrees with Sakai that those in Konjaku seem to have formed part of the stories from the beginning. Whether this opinion of Konjaku is really justified is a question which would take too long to discuss here, though it is in my view open to doubt. But certainly it is wrong to suggest that the compiler obtrudes himself unduly in Uji-shūi. Indeed, is it not on the contrary remarkable that there is in Uji-shūi nothing resembling the

zuihitsu element which, as we saw in Chapter 1, began to be such a feature of tale literature from about the time when, according to Japanese scholars, Uji-shūi was written?

The fact is, as most Japanese writers agree, that the didactic element in Uji-shūi is relatively small. It is true that many of its stories, secular as well as Buddhist, do end with the drawing of a moral, e.g. 3 and 48, and that like Konjaku, its comments are sometimes rather trite. It is true also that the two works sometimes make the same comment on stories which they have in common. But nothing shows better their essential difference in approach than a comparison of their treatment of tales which by their very nature are edifying, such as two of the Jizō tales, US 44-5, or two of the stories of rebirth in animal form, US 167-8. In all these cases, Uji-shūi lets the story speak for itself, while Konjaku rams home the point with an explicit comment. Even where Uji-shūi does draw a moral, it often does so in a much less long-winded fashion than Konjaku, e.g. US 86 and 169.

It must be said that Uji-shūi contains a few stories which might be thought out of keeping with even the moderate amount of edification in the work, for instance the two, 14 and 15, whose humour is associated with reference to or exposure of genital organs, or that in which a romantic love-scene is ruined when the lady farts, 34, or that in which a

naïve woman is hoaxed into refraining from going to stool for three days, 76. It would be wrong, however, to view these tales as unpleasant or disgusting. They are written with what seems to me a healthy, broad-minded attitude. The humour is earthy, but not that of a furtively-told smutty joke.

The two main elements in the secular stories are the humorous and the supernatural. The latter, like the miracles and magic of the Buddhist stories, is a reflection of contemporary superstitions. This was a world in which people believed that a corpse could transfer itself from one place to another (47), or that a dream could be bought (165). Moreover, man was beset by perils on all sides. For various reasons, such as the position of the heavenly bodies (183), it was desirable to remain at home on certain days, secluded from all contacts with the outside world (72, 122), or to avoid certain points of the compass (24). Failure to observe these precautions might be fatal (122). In addition, all manner of baleful creatures might be encountered, such as demons who came out to prowl at night, either singly (158) or in groups of as many as a hundred (3, 17, 160), foxes (52-3) or flying-squirrels (159). We even find such creatures masquerading as divinities, a kestrel as a Buddha in 32, a badger as Mañjuśrī in 104 and a tengu as Amida in 169. In the last two cases, it should be noted, the creatures are able to deceive holy men, while in the

first two, it is lay characters who expose their deception. Nor were the perils entirely unconnected with any human agency. Divination might be used to foretell the future or look into the past (8), and other magical techniques could be used for such relatively harmless purposes as turning boots into puppies, sandals into badgers, or causing miniature Kamo Festival processions to pass across the top of a screen (106). But these arts could be put to more nefarious uses, such as depriving men of their penises (106) or putting a spell on people to make them laugh endlessly (185). In the latter story, if Takashina Shumpei's brother had accompanied his teacher to China, he would have learned how to kill people by magic, and in the first story of Seimei (26), the life of a young officer of the Guards is threatened by an evil spirit brought down on him by a sorcerer in the pay of the officer's brother-in-law.

Naïve though these stories of the supernatural may seem to the modern reader, the world of magic and superstition was, as has already been said, a very real one for Japanese of the Heian and Kamakura periods. It is therefore all the more remarkable to find in Uji-shūi two stories in which superstitious practices are scoffed at. When Atsuyuki, in 24, offers his neighbour the chance to have his dead father's body taken away through his (Atsuyuki's) house, because the neighbour's gate is temporarily in an unlucky direction, Atsuyuki's

children ridicule him for endangering their safety, but he insists that those who practise ritual seclusion and such things do not live long and make nothing of their lives. Again, in 72, Mochinaga turns the tables on his master by ignoring the latter's ritual seclusion, justifying himself with the identical comment made to him on a previous occasion. Perhaps only the former example indicates a positive scorn of superstition, and this must be regarded as a rare exception. Nevertheless, we are told not only that the sceptical but unselfish Atsuyuki lived to the age of ninety, but also that people praised his action.

Prominent though the superstitious, darker side of ancient Japanese life is in Uji-shūi, it is counterbalanced by the lighter side. This is of particular interest for the student of life at Court. Few of the tales deal with that staple of Heian literature, the love-affairs of the nobility, and in those that do, e.g. 27, 29, 34, 35, 41, 50, 51, 81, the focus of interest is not on the romantic aspects of the affair. (In addition, in only three of them is poetry important.) The main point of interest in 27 and 29, though these describe visits by Suemichi and Akihira to women, is their narrow escapes from death. In 50, Heichū, second only to Narihira in Heian Japan as a Don Juan figure, is made to look ridiculous and appears in anything but an idealized light. What could be

less romantic than the lovers' embarrassment in 34 and 35? Other stories too show well-known figures in undignified positions, such as Motosuke in 162 and Kakuyū (the High Priest Toba) in 37; Kakuyū's discomfiture, incidentally, is his punishment for his own somewhat surprising behaviour. We find ample evidence of the buffoonery and raillery that went on in aristocratic circles, sometimes at the expense of rather pathetic figures, as in 124. Young nobles were no less high-spirited in this age than in any other, and we find them substituting sandals for the fish with which Mochitsune hopes to curry favour (23), and even acting rowdily in the streets (31). They could hardly be more unlike the four aesthetic young men in Genji-monogatari, sitting together on a rainy evening, discussing the relative merits of women. Equally un-Genji-like is the public entertainment described in 74, in which a ribald, slapstick performance is given by two beijū or sarugaku players taking part in a kagura - a performance described as so successful that even the Emperor heard about it.

There are of course a number of humorous tales of life outside Court circles, e.g. 5, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25, 62, 74, 75, 76, 77, 113, 133, 145. Typical examples are those about impostor priests (5, 6, 133, 145) and those which depend for their effect on witty retorts (15, 62). Nishio points out

that of the more than thirty humorous tales in the whole work, over twenty are not found in any other collection and may be presumed to have been recorded from popular oral tradition. Indeed, he and Watanabe consider that the same is true of the majority of the more than fifty stories for which no parallels are known. But it should perhaps be stressed that these popular tales include only a handful which could be classified as conventional mukashibanashi, or 'fairy-tales' (3, 48, 56, 92 and possibly 91).

There are a few distinct categories of secular story besides the humorous ones. For instance, there are four tales (31, 166, 176, 177) of feats of strength, three by men and one by a woman (for the latter there is precedent as far back as Ryōiki), three tales of criminals (28, 33, 125) and four concerning Chinese philosophers (90, 152, 196-7). All three concerning Confucius, it should be noted, show him being bested, and even made to look ridiculous. Foreign tales are comparatively few, numbering only eighteen (plus a few which concern Japanese figures in China or Korea), and are mostly Buddhist, or about Buddhist figures. An especially interesting feature of three of the tales of Japanese abroad is the evidence they give of a consciousness of the national honour. Two tiger stories, one set in Korea and the other in China (155-6), both state how the skill and bravery of the Japanese

was found by the local inhabitants to be much superior to that of their own people, while the story of Jakushō in China, 172, has him calling upon the Gods and the Three Treasures of Japan to help him send his begging-bowl for food, like the Chinese priests with whom he is competing, and thus avoid humiliation. (By contrast, there is in one story, 180, a criticism of Japanese. When Tōshi Shōzu loses the jewel which the ship's captain, a Chinese, has entrusted to him, and offers his own jewel in its place, the captain refuses, because Shōzu's jewel is so much more valuable than his. The narrator comments how differently a Japanese would have acted. 'Would anyone from this country have declined to accept the jewel?')

One category of secular tale which is conspicuously absent from Uji-shūi is that of yūsoku-kojitsu. The only item which might conceivably be reckoned as such is 97, describing banquets at which Lord Ononomiya was the principal guest. In the opinion of Nishio[10], Uji-shūi shows little nostalgia for the glories of the past (which, as we have seen, provided the main impulse towards the collection of such tales). While this is undeniable, I think it worth stressing that of those tales of Japanese historical figures whose action can be at least approximately dated, almost three-quarters are set in the period before, say 1070 (almost one-half, indeed, before the year 1000), and that only one-tenth are set in the period after

1100. Since this will be of some importance to my argument later, I show in Table 3, on p.364, the approximate distribution of Uji-shūi tales over a total period of more than four centuries.

Style

The style of Uji-shūi is described by Nakajima[11] as better-formed than that of Konjaku, a polished Japanese, typical of the Kamakura period, in which the elegant and the popular are successfully combined. To narrow down the bare statement that the style is typical of the Kamakura period, it should be added that, according to Nomura,[12] the Uji-shūi style is not that of the war-tales such as Heike-monogatari (though they have a few features in common), while it differs also from the ornate style of Senjū-shō and the highly-organized style of Jikkin-shō. He describes it as a style of an old but not archaic type, with certain features, particularly of vocabulary, which give it a lively, often colloquial flavour. It is, he says, in the line of Konjaku (which he regards as a direct source for Uji-shūi), but not identical.

The Uji-shūi style is not entirely uniform, for the language of certain stories shows the influence of Chinese, even if sometimes in minor ways. Nomura is of course right to say[13] that Uji-shūi is not in Chinese style (kambun-chō), and it must

be admitted that even in the few stories in which a Chinese influence is detectable, the language is very far from the appallingly un-Japanese hybrid style of direct translation from Chinese. Such Chinese words as occur, Nomura points out, are mostly either ordinary words quite appropriate to a Japanese context or widely current Buddhist terms. Certainly, too, the variation in Uji-shūi is not comparable with that found in Konjaku between the stories, largely those in books 1-20, whose sources are found in works in Chinese, and the non-Buddhist native Japanese stories.[14] Some Uji-shūi stories in which a Chinese influence is present are 4 (together with some other Kojidan parallels), 90, 137-8, and 152-3. A particularly extreme example is the story of Hankyū, 73, usually thought to be based on Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den:-

Kore mo ima wa mukashi, Hankyū ajari to iu sō arikeri. Yama no Ryōgon-in ni sumikeri. Hitoe ni gokuraku o negau. Gyōjū zaga, seihō o ushiro ni sezu. Tsubaki o haki, dai-shōben, nishi ni mukawazu. Iribi o senaka ni owazu. Nishizaka yori yama e noboru toki wa, mi o sobadatete ayumu. Tsune ni iwaku, 'Ueki no taoruru koto, kanarazu katabuku kata ni ari. Kokoro o seihō ni kaken ni, nanzo kokorozashi o togezaran. Rinjū shōnen utagawazu,' to nan iikeru. Ojō-den ni iru to ka.

Here the grammatically loosely used phrases gyōjū zaga and tsubaki o haki, dai-shōben, and the construction nanzo.....

togezaran are undoubtedly Chinese in origin. Also the brevity of the sentences results from following a source written in Chinese, though it would be rash to suggest that brevity of sentences necessarily means this, or that Chinese influence always entails this kind of jerky structure.

The existence of Chinese influence may be helpful as a means of determining the relation of Uji-shūi stories to parallels in other works. For instance, Gotō Tanji, having established that there is a relationship between US 103 and part of a work in Chinese entitled Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki, argues[15] that the latter must have been the source for Uji-shūi, and not vice-versa, since the wording in Uji-shūi has a Chinese flavour that is out of keeping with the general style of the work. Yafuki Shigeharu[16] maintains, as one point in favour of the idea that Kojidan was a source for Uji-shūi, and not vice-versa, that aida, a conjunction typical of the Sinicized style, and found passim in Kojidan, occurs in Uji-shūi only in the stories with Kojidan parallels. Again, when Miyata Hisashi maintains[17] that the combination of similarities and differences in the stories which Uji-shūi has in common with Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den proves that the latter was not a source for Uji-shūi, and that the material as it appears in Uji-shūi (even, it seems, the one closely parallel story, that of Hankyū) must have been recorded from oral tradition, much of his argument has force; but he

does not, in my opinion, take sufficient account of the stylistic difference between the Hankyū story and the other four in question (59, 143, 172 and 194). If all five were recorded from oral tradition, why is the former alone so markedly terse and Chinese in style? In any case, if by oral tradition is meant a popular legend with wide currency, would it have preserved such an uncolloquial style?

The question of how far the language of Uji-shūi is really typical of the Kamakura period is one to which I shall return in the last chapter of this study. For the moment, therefore, let me say only that statements of this kind seem to me to be made far too loosely. Until more is known about the process by which Uji-shūi was compiled and the nature of the work has been more thoroughly analysed, such generalizations are highly misleading.

Perhaps the most effective way of demonstrating the essential features of the Uji-shūi style will be to present passages from representative stories which it has in common with Konjaku. I give below - on the left-hand side of the page the Uji-shūi text, romanized from the edition of Watanabe and Nishio, and on the right-hand side the Konjaku counterpart, romanized from the Kokushi-taikei text - passages from three stories, the first a non-Buddhist Japanese story (US 27; KM 23/16), the second

(US 164, KM 9/13) and the third (US 174, KM 4/6) both Buddhist stories set in India (though the Konjaku version of the second story is included in the China section of the work).

1.

(i) Mukashi Suruga no zenji Tachibana no Suemichi to iu mono ariki. Sore ga wakakarikeru toki, sarubeki tokoro narikeru nyōbō o, shinobite yukikayoikeru hodo ni, soko ni arikeru saburaidomo, 'Nama-rokui no, kenin nite aranu ga, yoi akatsuki ni, kono tono e ideiru koto wabishi. Kore tatekomete kō-zen,' to iu koto o atsumarite ii-awasekeri. Kakaru koto o mo shirade, rei no koto nareba, kodoneri-warawa o, hitori gu-shite, tsubone ni irinu. Warawa oba, 'Akatsuki mukae

(i) Ima wa mukashi, Suruga no zenji Tachibana no Suemichi to iu hito ariki. Sono hito wakakarikeru toki, mairitsukōmatsuru tokoro ni mo aranu, yangoto naki tokoro ni arikeru nyōbō o kataraite shinobite kayoikeru o, sono tokoro ni arikeru saburaidomo, nama-rokui nado no arikeru ga, 'Kono tono no hito ni mo aranu mono no yoi akatsuki ni tono no uchi yori ideiri suru, kiwamete buai nari. Iza kore tachikomete utan,' to atsumarite ii-awasekeru o, Suemichi saru koto o mo shirazu shite, sakizaki no gotoku kodoneri-warawa hitori bakari o gu-shite, kachi yori yukite

ni koyo,' tote kaeshiyaritsu. Kono utan to suru onokodomo.. ...

shinobite tsubone ni irinikeri. Warawa oba,'Akatsuki ni mukae ni kitare,' to iite kaeshiyaritsu. Shikaru aida, kono utan to suru monodomo...

(ii)...Kakaru hodo ni, akatsuki-gata ni narinuran to omou hodo ni, kono warawa, ika ni shite ka iriken, irikuru oto suru o, saburai,'Taso, sono warawa wa,' to, keshiki-dorite toeba, araku iraenanzu to omoi-itaru hodo ni, 'Mi-dokyō no sō no dōji ni haberi,' to nanoru. Sa nanorarete, 'Toku sugiyo,' to iu. Kashikoku iraetsuru mono ka na, yorikite, rei yobu me no na ya yobanzuran to, mata sore o omoi-itaru ni yori mo kode sugite inu. Kono warawa mo kokoroetekeri, uruseki yatsu zo kashi. Sa

(ii)...Saru hodo ni akatsuki-gata ni narinikeri. Kono warawa ika ni shite ka iritsuran irikitaru o, saburaidomo keshiki-dorite, 'Ano warawa wa ta zo,' to toeba, kore o kikite ashiku iraetenzu to omoi-itaru hodo ni, warawa, 'Mi-dokyō no sō no dōji ni haberi,' to nanoru nari. 'Saraba' tote sugoshitsu. Kashikoku iraetsuru yatsu ka na, tsubone ni kite rei yobu me no na o ya yobanzuran to, sore o mata omoi-itaru hodo ni, tsubone e mo yorikitarazu shite sugite yukikereba, Suemichi, kono warawa mo kokoroetekeri, sa dani kokoroeteba uruseki yatsu zo kashi,

kokoroeteba, saritomo tabakaru koto aranzuran to, warawa no kokoro o shiritareba, tanomoshiku omoitaru hodo ni...

saredomo tabakaru koto wa aranzuran to, warawa no kokoro o shiritareba, omoi-itaru hodo ni...

2.

Mukashi, Tenjiku no hito, takara o kawan tame ni, zeni gojikkan o ko ni motasete yaru. Ōki naru kawa no hata o yuku ni, fune ni noritaru hito ari. Fune no kata o miyareba, fune yori, kame, kubi o sashi-idashitari. Zeni mochitaru hito, tachidomarite, kono kame oba, 'Nan no ryō zo,' to toeba, 'Koroshite mono ni senzuru,' to iu 'Sono kame kawan,' to ieba, kono fune no hito iwaku, 'imijiki taisetsu no koto arite, mōketaru kame nareba, imijiki

Ima wa mukashi, Tenjiku ni hitori no hito arite, takara o kawan tame ni zeni gosenryō o ko ni motashimete tonari no kuni ni yaru. Ko sareba zeni o torite yuku ni, ōki naru kawa no hotori o yuku. Sono toki ni fune ni norite yuku hito ari. Kono ko fune no kata o mireba, kame itsutsu fune yori kubi o sashi-idete ari. Kono zeni mochitaru hito tachidomarite,' Sore wa nanzo no kame zo,' to toeba, fune no hito iwaku,' Koroshite subeki yō aru nari,' to. Kono zeni mochitaru hito iwaku,'Sono kame o ware ni

atai naritomo, urumajiki yoshi o ieba, nao anagachi ni te o surite, kono gojikkan no zeni nite, kame o kaitorite hanachitsu. Kokoro ni omou yō, oya no, takara kai ni tonari no kuni e yaritsuru zeni o, kame ni kaete yaminureba, oya, ika ni haradachitamawanzuran. Saritote, oya no moto e ikade arubeki ni araneba, oya no moto e kaeriyuku ni, michi ni hito no ite iu yō...

uri-tamae. Kawan to omou,' to. Funabito (?fune no hito) no iwaku, 'Kagiri naki yō arite kamaete tsurietaru kame nari. Sareba mimyō no atai naritomo urubekarazu,' to. Zenimochi no hito te o surite anagachi ni koiukete, kono mochitaru zeni gosenryō o motte kame itsutsu kaitorite mizu ni hanachite sarinu. Zenimochi no hito kokoro no uchi ni omou yō, waga oya no takara o kawan ga tame ni, tonari no kuni ni yaritsuru zeni o motte, kame o kaite yaminureba, oya ika ni haradachi-tamawanzuran to omoedomo, saritote mata oya no moto ni kaeriyukazarubeki ni araneba, oya no ie ni kaeriyuku ni, tochū ni hito ni aite tsugete iwaku...

3.

Ima wa mukashi, Tenjiku ni

Ima wa mukashi, Tenjiku ni hotoke

hotoke no mi-deshi Ubakutta to iu hijiri owashiki. Nyorai metsugo hyakunen bakari arite, sono hijiri ni deshi ariki. Ika naru kokorobae o ka mi-tamaitariken,'Nyonin ni chikazuku koto nakare. Nyonin ni chikazukeba, shōji ni meguru koto sharin no gotoshi,' to tsune ni isametamaikereba, deshi no mōsaku, 'Ika naru koto o goran-jite, tabitabi kayō ni uketamawaru zo. Ware mo shōka no mi nite habereba, yume onna ni chikazuku koto arubekarazu,' to mōsu.

Yo no deshidomo mo, kono naka ni wa koto ni tōtoki hito o, ika nareba kaku notamauran to, ayashiku omoikeru hodo ni, kono deshi no sō, mono e yuku tote kawa o watarikeru toki... nehan ni iri-tamaite nochi hyakunen bakari arite, Ubakutta to mōsu shōka no rakan mashimasu. Sono deshi ni hitori no biku ari. Ubakutta sono deshi o ika naru kokoro o ka mi-tamaiken, tsune ni kashaku shite iwaku, 'Nanji nao onna ni chikazuku koto nakare. Onna ni chikazuku koto wa, shōji ni meguru koto, kuruma no meguru ga gotoshi.' Kaku no gotoku tsune ni koto no orifushi goto ni notamau. Deshi no mōsaku, 'Shi ni mashimasedomo kore wa ika ni mi-tamau zo. Ware wa sude ni rakan-ka o shō-seru mi nari. Oyoso onna ni furebau koto wa, nagaku hanarenitaru koto nari,' to ito tōtoku mōsu. Ta no mi-deshi-ra mo, 'Ito tōtoki hito o anagachi ni kaku notamau wa asamashiki koto nari,' to mina omoi-aeri. Kaku no gotoku tsune ni kashaku shi-tamau aida, kono

mi-deshi no biku, akarasama ni tagyō su tote hitotsu no kawa o wataru aida...

The first Uji-shūi passage above was chosen as a typical example of the basic style of the whole work. In this example, the language of Konjaku differs relatively little from that of Uji-shūi. The second passage was chosen because this tale is one of the two, mentioned in Chapter 2, whose ultimate source is Ming-pao-chi but whose Konjaku (and Uji-shūi) versions Kunisaki thinks must represent popular tradition.

It will be noticed that even in the relatively pure Japanese of its version of passage 1, Konjaku uses a word of Chinese origin, buai, where Uji-shūi has the Japanese wabishi. Such differences are even more marked in the other two passages. Thus we find such differences of vocabulary as mimyō no for imijiki (passage 2) and kashaku shite iwaku for isame-tamai(kereba) and tagyō su for mono e yuku (passage 3), and a number of differences in verb-forms or constructions, e.g. motashimete for motasete, kaeriyukazaru beki ni araneba for ikade arubeki and to for to iu (all passage 2). Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in passages 2 and 3, the Uji-shūi versions themselves are not entirely free of Chinese influence. Slight though this may be, it raises the same question as the story of

Hankyū, that is, how far any Chinese element would have been preserved by popular oral transmission.

One distinctive feature of the Konjaku style is its constant use, as part of the narrative technique, of phrases such as kore o kikite, shikaru aida, etc. It clearly aims at being as explicit and explanatory as possible. The same desire for explicitness is evinced by the liberal use of sentence-subjects. By contrast, Uji-shūi is very sparing with such indications, and avoids much tedious repetition.

An interesting point is raised in this connection by Kunisaki, who comments[18] that if this apparatus of narrative formulas and explanatory phrases is removed from the Konjaku parallels with Uji-shūi, the similarity between their two versions of stories becomes even more striking than it already is. According to Kunisaki, the Konjaku method is based on a deliberate policy of standardization in order to make the narrative more acceptable in a literary sense and thus more authoritative. Uji-shūi may therefore be considered to preserve more nearly the original form of a story, as handed down in oral tradition. Kunisaki's point about Konjaku seems to me debatable. I would agree that the Uji-shūi form seems earlier, the kind of narrative from which the writer(s) of Konjaku may have worked, though that is not necessarily the same as raw oral tradition. (At least two writers[19] have considered the Uji-shūi style to be

more literary than that of Konjaku.) Clearly, too, the style of Konjaku is not the ordinary style of oral tradition, since it is, as Kunisaki says, standardized. But its very explanatoriness seems to me very unliterary. It is surely just the sort of easy-to-understand style which could have a down-to-earth popular appeal if used for preaching.

It will be readily apparent that the passages quoted above differ in more than these minor points of narrative technique. There are differences of substance as well. Indeed, Konjaku has some phrases, clauses and even whole sentences which are not found in Uji-shūi (the opposite case occurs more rarely), while occasionally phrases or sentences in Konjaku appear in a reversed order in Uji-shūi. Another important difference between the two is that whereas Konjaku regularly gives full details of the names and titles and even details of the family connections, appearance and character of the main figures in its stories, such details are by no means common in Uji-shūi. Sometimes the latter gives only a personal name, e.g. Takatada, where Konjaku has Fujiwara Takatada.

A comparison of one more pair of parallel passages will be useful. It illustrates most of the points already made, but in addition it shows how very much more prolix than Uji-shūi Konjaku can be in its telling of the same story. It is

an excellent example of the difference in approach, which Nakajima describes as follows:[20] '...in Konjaku the aim is to relate a legend and so it sets out to record in as much detail as possible personal names, the place and the date. But to the author of Uji-shūi, proper names are not particularly important. Since his aim is to make interesting reading out of a good tale, it is sufficient for him to refer to "the Minister of the Right", without bothering about his name and pedigree. This is not a feature of this story alone; almost all the stories have the same tendency.' The story in question is US 32, KM 20/3.

4.

Mukashi, Engi no mikado no on-toki, Gojō no tenjin no atari ni, ōki naru kaki no ki no, mi naranu ari. Sono ki no ue ni, hotoke arawarete owa-shimasu. Kyō-jū no hito, kozorite mairikeri. Uma, kuruma mo tate-aezu, hito mo seki-aezu, ogami-nonoshiri-keri. Kaku suru hodo ni,

Ima wa mukashi, Engi no tennō no mi-yo ni Gojō no sae no kami no owashimasu tokoro ni ōki naru naranu kaki no ki arikeri. Sono kaki no ki no ue ni niwaka ni hotoke araware-tamau koto ari-keri. Medetaki hikari o hanachi, samazama no hana nado o furashime nado shite, kiwamete tōtokari-kereba, kyō-jū no jōchūge no hito

itsu-muyuka aru ni, udaijin-dono, kokoroezu oboshi-tamai-keru aida, makoto no hotoke no yo no sue ni ide-tamaubeki ni arazu, ware yukite kokoro-min to oboshite, hi no sōzoku uruwashiku shite, biryō no kuruma ni norite, on-saki oku gu-shite, atsumaritsudoi-taru monodomo nokesasete, kuruma kakehazushite shiji o tatete, kozue o me mo tataka-zu, akarame mo sezu shite, mamorite, hitotoki bakari owasuru ni, kono hotoke, shi-bashi koso, hana mo furase, hikari o mo hanachi-tamai-kere, amari ni amari ni mamo-rarete, shi-wabite, ōki naru kusotobi no hane oretaru, tsuchi ni ochite, madoi-futa-meku o, warawabedomo yorite uchikoroshitekeri. Otodo wa, sareba koso tote kaeri-mōde-atsumaru koto kagiri nashi. Kuruma mo tachi-aezu, kachibito hatara iitsukusubekarazu. Kaku no gotoki ogami-nonoshiru aida, sude ni muyu-nanoka ni narinu. Sono toki ni Hikaru no otodo to iu hito ari, Fukakusa no tennō no miko nari. Mi no zae kashi-koku satori akiraka narikeru hito nite, kono hotoke no gen-ji-tamau koto o sukoburu kokoroezu omoi-tamaikeri. Makoto no hotoke no kaku niwaka ni ki no sue ni ide-tamaubeki yō nashi, kore wa tengu nado no shiwaza ni koso arumere. Gejutsu wa nanoka ni wa sugizu, kyō ware yukite min to omoi-tamaite, idetachi-tamau. Hi no sōzoku uruwashiku shite birōge no kuruma ni norite sakigake nado uruwashiku gu-shite soko ni yuki-tamainu. Sokobaku mōde-atsuma-reru hito o harainokesasete, kuruma o kaki-oroshite shiji o

tamainu. Sate, toki no hito, kono otodo o, imijiku kashikoki hito nite owashimasu to zo, nonoshirikeru.

tatete, kuruma no su o maki-agete mi-tamaeba, makoto ni ki no sue ni hotoke owashimasu. Konjiki no hikari o hanachite, sora yori samazama no hana o furasu koto ame no gotoshi. Miru ni makoto ni tōtoki koto kagiri nashi. Shikaru ni otodo sukoburu ayashiku omoe-tamaikereba, hotoke ni mukaite me o mo majirogazu shite hitotoki bakari mamori-tamaikereba, kono hotoke shibaraku koso hikari o hanachi hana o furashi nado arikere, anagachi ni mamoru toki ni wabite tachimachi ni ōki naru kusotobi no tsubasa oretaru ni narite, ki no ue yori tsuchi ni ochite futameku o, ōku no hito kore o mite kii nari to omoikeri. Kowarawabe yorite, kano kusotobi oba uchikoroshitekeri. Otodo wa sareba koso, makoto no hotoke wa nan no yue ni niwaka ni ki no sue ni wa gen-ji-tamaubeki zo. Hito no kore o satorazu shite, higoro ogami-nonoshiru ga oroka naru nari to iite kaeri-tamainikeri. Sareba sono niwa no sokobaku no hito otodo o nan home-mōshikeri. Yo no hito mo kore o kikite, otodo wa kashikokarikeru hito ka na

to iite, home-mōshikeri to nan katari-tsutaetaru to ya.

Literary qualities

Uji-shūi contains many entertaining tales, but such merit as it has is certainly not shared equally by all its stories, some of which are brief, banal or stereotyped. It goes without saying that it is not great literature. But much of what was said in Chapter 2 about Konjaku applies equally to Uji-shūi.

Perhaps many of the most interestingly and forcefully told stories are found among those for which no parallels are known, and which are therefore probably recorded from popular gossip. Of some, e.g. 15, 33 and 133, Nomura goes so far as to say[21] that the writing shows considerable skill, and that they have a real appeal as literature. A full examination of techniques of story-telling would require a detailed analysis which I have been unable to undertake. But I can draw attention to one or two points. It was said in Chapter 2 that a comparison of Konjaku stories with parallels in works of the yūsoku-kojitsu type shows how much more effective the Konjaku narrative is. There is unfortunately little scope for such comparisons in Uji-shūi, for almost all of its few parallels with Gōdan-shō and Fuke-godan are very remote.

Though one in each case is fairly close, the stories (4 and 9) are also in Kojidan, which is thought to be the direct source. Thus comparisons of this kind can really be made only with Kojidan. Several parallels with this work, including the two mentioned, are so close that no question of different story-telling technique arises. But in two other cases, a comparison is instructive. One is the story of Dōmyō, US 1. Though there is no essential difference in the subject, there is a difference of presentation. In Kojidan, when the old man is asked who he is, he reveals in one speech both his identity and the fact that he has been able to approach and hear the sūtra only because Dōmyō's recent contact with a woman has kept his usual audience of divinities away. Uji-shūi makes a little conversation out of this. When the old man identifies himself, Dōmyō asks what he wants and the old man says he will never forget the sutra-reading. Dōmyō then asks why he has chosen to come on this particular night, although he (Dōmyō) chants the sutra constantly. The old man then explains. Again, the Kojidan parallel to US 7 says bluntly that the holy man, hearing that his friend has gone out hunting, dons a deerskin and goes out to lie down in the fields. Uji-shūi introduces into the story an effective element of surprise. The hunter goes out on his torchlight shooting expedition, sees a pair of eyes,

nearly shoots at them - and only at the last moment does he find (and we are told) that the eyes were those of the holy man in disguise.

The main appeal of Uji-shūi stories, however, lies not in their technique but in their human interest. Akutagawa's comment that every time he opened Konjaku he 'seemed to hear the people of those times sending up their cries of grief or merriment' could be made with equal justification of Uji-shūi.[22] The picture of the time which it gives has already been described at some length above. But it is worth stressing the naturalness of that picture. Uji-shūi shows us men as they were. Most frequently it exposes their weaknesses, foibles and petty deceptions, but with an attitude not of high moral indignation but rather of tolerant amusement. If the work does sometimes draw morals from its stories, the tone is never excessively didactic.

Uji-shūi has been criticized for its lack of anything comparable to the stories of warriors in book 25 of Konjaku, which were forerunners of the epic war-tales. Watanabe and Nishio call it[23] a weakness that it does not reflect the violent and tragic upheavals that had taken place in the world so near to the time when Uji-shūi is thought to have been written. But might it not reasonably be argued that Uji-shūi neglects material of the war-tale kind simply because it is an enlarge-

ment of a collection of quite different type? One cannot help feeling that it is a little far-fetched to say that the compiler of Uji-shūi, in creating a world of healthy laughter, does so in a mood of something like resignation, as if to demonstrate that in the everyday world, despite all violent upheavals, man remains basically the same. It is no denial of the appeal of Uji-shūi to doubt whether such a degree of conscious purpose can justifiably be attributed to the writer of a collection of tales of this kind.

Chapter Four

UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI - II

A DESCRIPTION OF PARALLELS WITH OTHER WORKS

Uji-shūi has more stories in common with other collections than almost any other work of its kind. However, those parallels in works earlier than the presumed date of compilation of Uji-shūi which are at all close are confined almost exclusively to four collections, Konjaku, Uchigiki, Kohon and Kojidan. I therefore show in Table 4 (pp.365-368) and discuss in this chapter only correspondences with these four works. (It must be emphasized that at this stage my purpose is merely to describe, not to account for, the degree of correspondence.) There are in fact only five cases of close parallels in other earlier works to items in Uji-shūi, and in only two of these does the possibility of a direct relationship arise; they are the parallel in Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den to the story of Hankyū, US 73, and that in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki to the story of the Kegon service at the Tōdai-ji, US 103, both mentioned in Chapter 3 in connection with style. US 4 and US 9 have close parallels in Gōdan-shō and Fuke-godan respectively, but closer ones with Kojidan, while US 146 has a parallel in Yamato-monogatari, but

a closer one with Kohon.

Table 4 is adapted from the fuller list of parallels (later as well as earlier) given by Watanabe and Nishio[1], and in indicating the degrees of closeness of the parallels, I have followed their classification, substituting letters for the symbols which they use. The five degrees are as follows:-

A. Close similarities, including in some cases complete identity of wording.

B. Close similarities of wording, though slightly less than in A. (It should be noted that even the closest Konjaku parallels are never rated by Watanabe and Nishio above this B category.)

C. Partial similarity, although this may be close. Most of the parallels in this category are with Konjaku, the Uji-shūi item forming only part of a longer Konjaku item containing several stories.

D. The same story, but with least similarity in wording.

E. Story only remotely parallel.

In addition to Table 4, for which Uji-shūi is the starting-point, I have constructed another (Table 5, pp.369-376) with Konjaku as starting-point, in order to show clearly the pattern of distribution within Konjaku of the stories which it has in common not only with Uji-shūi but also with Kohon and Uchigiki. Tables 4 and 5 together thus present a complete picture of the

parallels between these four works (the only two stories in common between Kohon and Uchigiki appear also in Konjaku).

In the following discussion, page references to Uji-shūi are all to the edition of Watanabe and Nishio. The figures after oblique strokes are line references.

Kohon-setsuwa-shū

Of all the four main works containing parallels to Uji-shūi stories, it is Kohon (in conjunction with story-numbers referred to as KSS) in which they are most striking. Indeed, not only are the majority of its parallels identical in subject-matter, but one, KSS 41, is completely identical and most of the others are extraordinarily close in wording. KSS 22, for instance, differs from US 150 only in having makoto ni wa for makoto wa. A number of verbal differences in other stories are in equally insignificant points, e.g. the omission in KSS 21 of the particle no in the phrase corresponding to samazama no monodomo in US 42 (p.132/13). Moreover, where there are textual variants in Uji-shūi itself, one of these sometimes corresponds with the wording of Kohon. For instance, whereas most texts of US 42 have keu (p.133/3), one text quoted in Kokushi-taikei has kichō, as in Kohon; again, the edition of Watanabe and Nishio corresponds with Kohon in having yomitarikereba in 40 (p.130/3), where the 1659 edition has yomikereba, and in

having nabe ni nikeru mono in 43 (p.133/10), where the 1659 edition has nabe ni aru mono. The remarkable similarities between the two collections are made even more significant by such points as the following:-

1. US 41 and KSS 20 both make the same mistake about the poetess Haku-no-haha, 'The mother of the Haku (i.e. the Head of the Bureau of Shinto)', confusing her with her sister. Both make her the younger sister of a lady who is abducted by Taira Koremoto and taken to live in the province of Hitachi. They quote a poem sent by Haku-no-haha to her sister, and the sister's reply. In later years, we are told, when her sister is dead, Haku-no-haha accompanies her husband, the Governor of Hitachi, to his province, and is visited by and receives lavish gifts from her late sister's daughters. In fact,[2] Haku-no-haha was her father's eldest daughter, and it was she who married Taira Koremoto, by whom she had the son, Prince Yasusuke, who was known as Haku. It was her younger sister, the third daughter, who married a Governor of Hitachi, and this girl's son was named Minamoto Kanetoshi. The two poems in the story appear as a pair in Go-shūi-shū, nos. 1134 and 1135, though there the last line of the first poem varies slightly from the text as it appears in Uji-shūi and Kohon. In this anthology, the first poem is said to be by 'The mother of Minamoto

Kanetoshi' and to have been sent with a letter to a relative in the eastern provinces, while the reply is said to be by 'The mother of Prince Yasusuke'.

2. Both collections contain a story, US 146 and KSS 11, concerning a certain officer of the Guards who, in the Yamato-monogatari, from which the story clearly originates, is called Suenawa. Though the title of the Kohon story gives the name in this form, in the body of the text the name appears throughout as Suenao, and the latter form is used also in Uji-shūi.

3. The characters used for the name of the Indian miser Rushi are the same in both collections (US 85, KSS 56), though in Konjaku 3/22 the name appears with different characters. (On the other hand, Kohon differs from Uji-shūi in not placing the story in India and also in the wording of Rushi's Chinese poem, though the latter difference is relatively slight.)

4. The unusual form himemosu, for hinemosu, 'all day' occurs in the same place in both the Uji-shūi and the Kohon versions of the story of the priest of the Gokuraku-ji, US 191 (p.422/4) and KSS 52.

The remarkable correspondence between the two collections can scarcely be over-emphasized. Yet at the same time it is necessary to point out that in one or two stories there are differences of plot, and that even in stories with identical

plots and passages of identical phraseology, certain passages differ appreciably in wording, moreover in more important respects than the simple omission of particles, etc.

The stories with differences of plot are the following:-

1. US 108, KSS 54. These are clearly variant versions of the same basic story. Whereas in Uji-shūi, the girl lives in Tsuruga, in Echizen, and the young man is from Mino, the girl in Kohon lives in Wata, in Settsu, and it is the young man who comes from, and takes her to live in, Echizen. In Uji-shūi, the girl's parents, who are not rich but comfortably off, arrange marriages for her, but though she marries several times, each husband leaves her. The Kohon story opens with the death of the parents. The girl has suitors but hesitates to marry because she feels that nobody will want one so poverty-stricken. Then, in the Uji-shūi but not the Kohon version, the young man falls in love with the girl because she reminds him of his late wife. Finally, in Uji-shūi the daughter of the former family servant comes and knocks at the door, whereas in the Kohon version the girl sees her going past the house on her way to the well.

2. US 95, KSS 49. The variations in the above stories occur throughout, but here the Uji-shūi story appears with no substantial difference in Kohon. However, the story of Tada-

akira using a shutter as a parachute and floating down into the valley at the Kiyomizu temple is followed in Kohon by a short account of how a woman accidentally dropped her baby into the valley. This introduces a religious element absent from the Tadaakira section, for the woman calls on the Kiyomizu Kannon for help, and the child lands safely on a pile of leaves.

3. US 146, KSS 11. Here the Kohon story, clearly based on Yamato-monogatari, consists of two sections, each built round a poem by Suenao. Only the second half, however, appears in Uji-shūi, though with almost identical wording. (The first half describes Suenao's disappointment when the Emperor fails to come to view the cherries at Ōigawa, as promised.)

4. US 151, KSS 27. Here too a Kohon story has an extra section following the part which corresponds with Uji-shūi. This case is of particular interest because the additional section, which follows the story of the ghost of the Minister of the Left Tōru and quotes verses by poets who lived in the house after the retired Emperor Uda's death, begins by recording that Tsurayuki lived in the house after his return from Tosa, and cites a poem of his referring to the imitation salt-piles which the garden contained. Though Uji-shūi lacks this section, the story is placed after two others about Tsurayuki.

Differences of textual detail, as opposed to subject-

matter, between these two collections are of several types. First, there are variants which may have arisen through copyists' errors (this does not necessarily mean, of course, that the relationship was direct, since both works could be derived from a common source). That would seem to be a possible explanation for two variant passages in US 87 and KSS 64. Where Uji-shūi has Taka no hanaretaru o toran tote, tobu ni shitagaite yukikeru hodo ni, haruka naru yama no oku no tani no katagishi ni,... (p.202/1-2), Kohon has Taka no hanaretaru o toran tote, taka no tobu ni shitagaite yukikeru hodo ni, haruka ni inikeri. Taka o toran tote mireba, haruka naru okuyama no, tani no katagishi ni,...; again, where Uji-shūi says of the hawk-catcher's retainers after his fall into the valley Zusadomo wa.....wari-naku tsumadatete mi-oroshikeredo, wazuka ni mi-oroseba, sokoi mo shiranu tani no soko ni... (p.202/15-p.203/1), Kohon reads Tomo ni aru zusadomo wa..... wari-naku tsumadatete, osoroshikereba, wazuka ni mi-iruredo, sokoi mo shiranu tani no soko ni... Less extensive examples of the same kind are, for instance, kono shiremono, US 86 (p.201/5), and oko no shiremono, KSS 57; uchi e nigete, US 95 (p.224/15-16), and sochi wa e-nigede, KSS 49; and matsurigoto o shitatame-okonai-tamau aida, US 111 (p.276/16) and matsurigoto shi, tada okonau aida, KSS 44.

Certain other types of variation in wording are not so

easy to account for, in stories with otherwise such close correspondence throughout. One is the occasional minor differences of vocabulary, e.g. mazushikarikeru, US 88 (p.205/9), and tayori nakarikeru, KSS 66. Another is the appearance in one collection of phrases not found in the other. For instance, in the above quotations from the hawk-catcher story, it will be seen that Kohon has two such phrases, tomo ni aru and taka no, while later in the same story Kohon has a ware ni mo arazu which is not in Uji-shūi. Such extra phrases are not found only in Kohon. The situation is sometimes reversed, though on balance it must be said that it is more often Kohon which has the extra words.

So far, our discussion of Kohon has been restricted to comparisons with Uji-shūi alone. But a very important factor to be taken into account is that fifteen of the twenty-three Kohon stories with Uji-shūi parallels also have parallels in Konjaku. The study of these is particularly useful.

Let it be said at once that even in the closest Konjaku parallels (e.g.KM 24/23, with KSS 41 and US 149), there is never complete or even nearly complete identity of wording, on account of the special features of the Konjaku style discussed in Chapter 3. More significant than differences due to this style are variations in plot or small details, and those of wording unrelated to general questions of style.

The Konjaku version (16/6) of the hawk-catcher story has marked differences of plot. The man's plight arises, not from a fall, but from treachery on the part of a neighbour who accompanies him in order to lower him on a rope to the inaccessible site of the hawk's nest (in Konjaku, the tree in which the hawk has built its nest projects from the lower part of a cliff overlooking the sea, whereas in Uji-shūi and Kohon, it grows out from the top of a cliff overlooking a mountain valley, and the man is able to climb the tree without assistance). Just as in Uji-shūi and Kohon, the hawk-catcher is saved by Kannon in the guise of a snake, but with the difference that in Konjaku the snake makes as if to swallow him, whereas the other two versions specifically state that it does not.

Uji-shūi and Kohon versions on the one hand, and theeen the Uji-shūi and Kohon versions on the one hand, and the Konjaku version on the other, of the story of the rich Indian Rushi. Again, the story is basically the same, but Konjaku does not introduce the attempt to distinguish the true Rushi from the disguised Indra by the investigation of the mole, nor is Rushi's mother called on to decide. It is his wife who is asked to identify him. (It should be noted in passing that, though they coincide in the action, the Uji-shūi and Kohon versions of this and the hawk-catcher story differ appreciably

in wording.)

We have already seen that Kohon adds a Kannon story to the tale of Tadaakira at Kiyomizu. But Konjaku goes further than this. Not only does it contain this tale of the woman and her baby, as a separate item, 19/41, immediately following the Tadaakira incident, but actually makes the latter also a religious miracle-tale, since it has Tadaakira calling on Kannon to save him before he jumps into the valley.

There are several cases of minor plot differences or variations in small details. Thus in US 192 and KSS 61, Irae no Yotsune prays to Bishamon for help and receives instructions to shout 'Narita' on a certain peak and give to the demon who will appear a note; this, he finds, orders that he be given two to of rice. In KM 17/47, the prayer is to Kichijō-ten, the shout is to be 'Shuda' and the allocation of rice is to be three to. Again, in the Konjaku parallel to US 191 and KSS 52 (KM 14/35), the humble priest of the Gokuraku-ji is introduced at the very beginning of the story, instead of later.

The differences, however, are not always between Konjaku on the one hand and Uji-shūi and Kohon on the other. We have seen, for instance, that there is a wide difference between Uji-shūi and Kohon in the story of the girl in Tsuruga. But the Konjaku version, 16/7, is clearly the same as Uji-shūi. Nevertheless, not only do the two differ widely in wording,

but there is even a slight discrepancy in the action. In Uji-shūi, the girl is worried from the first because she sees that the travellers camping in her house apparently have no food and she has none to offer them. In Konjaku, they do have food with them, and her worries only begin later, when the young man goes away and leaves some retainers quartered on her.

In some cases, the difference is between Uji-shūi, standing alone, and Kohon and Konjaku together. In the matter of details of plot, this is rare. An example occurs in the story of the woman given the curtain at Kiyomizu. In US 131, she makes only a gown from it, whereas according to KM 16/30 and KSS 59, she makes a gown and a skirt. But in the matter of wording, it is not uncommon for Kohon, where it differs from Uji-shūi, to be closer to Konjaku, though the correspondence is rarely exact, as a few examples will show:-

US 86.....(sugoroku o) uchikeru (p.200/14)
KSS 57..... " " uchi-ainikeri
KM 16/37... " " uchi-aikeri

US 96.....michi mo yukiyarazu, furumawasuru hodo ni (p.230/2)
KSS 58.....michi o mo yukiyarazu furumawasuru otoko aitari
KM 16/28...(...mono no...) michi mo yukiyarazu furumawasete aitari

US 96.....ayashi no uma no aru ni norinu (p.230/7)

KSS 58.....ayashi no uma no aru ni kura okikaete

KM 16/28...ayashi no uma no aru ni kura okikaete norisarinu

US 131.....(mi-chō no katabira o) nusumitaru to ya (p.318/10)

KSS 59.....hanachitaru to ya

KM 16/30...(mi-chō o) hanachitoritari to ya

US 192.....sore ni kono fumi o misete tatematsuran mono o ukeyo (p.423/7-8)

KSS 61.....aite ukeyo

KM 17/47...sore ni aite ukubeshi

Again, however, a word of reservation is necessary, for there are places where the wording of Uji-shūi is closer than that of Kohon to Konjaku. Two examples of this will suffice.

US 111.....hitotabi ni arazu, tabitabi shidokenaki koto areba, omoku imashimen tote, mesu narikeri. 'Koko ni meshite sōrō,' to mōshikereba (p.277/2-4)

KSS 44.....sore, hitotabi ni arazu, tabitabi kasanaritaru koto nareba, kore mo imashimen tote, mesu narikeri. Sate, 'Koko ni meshite sōrō,' to mōshikereba

KM 24/55...sore ni hitotabi ni mo arazu, tabitabi shidokenaki

koto arikereba, kore wa omoku imashimen tote, mesu narikeri. Sunawachi ite mairitaru yoshi, tsukai iikereba

US 191.....'Nanzo no warawa no kaku wa suru zo,' to toishikaba (p.421/13)

KSS 52.....'Nanimono no kaku wa suru zo,' to toitsureba

KM 14/35...'Nanzo no warawa no kaku wa suru zo,' to warawa ni tou ni

In general it can be said that verbal resemblances to Konjaku are more frequent in Kohon than in Uji-shūi. But it should be remembered that in a number of stories, verbal resemblances to Konjaku in one collection have no counterpart in the other. For instance, KSS 61 has towards the end several phrases which not only correspond almost exactly to phrases in KM 17/47, but do not appear in any form in US 192.

Uchigiki-shū

Let us next consider the correspondences between Uji-shūi and Uchigiki, particularly the stories which have parallels in Konjaku.

Of the four items not found in Konjaku, one, US 139, appears in Uchigiki (17) in such abbreviated form that the

question of comparing wording scarcely arises. The remaining three, US 20, 107 and 142, have very similar wording to Uchigiki (4, 10 and 26 respectively), though US 107 has one slight difference of detail, one of the forms in which Pao-shih reveals himself being that of an eleven-headed, and not, as in UGS 10, a thousand-handed, Kannon. US 142 contains only the first part of the Uchigiki item. The second part describes how Kūya (Uchigiki in fact calls him Kōya) received instructions in a dream about where he would find the stick for a scroll of the Hannya Sūtra.

In the items common to Konjaku as well, the degree of correspondence varies considerably. For instance, all three works have an item about the Seson-ji, but UGS 25 consists of only one line, stating that the temple was formerly the residence of a certain Great Counsellor. As far as it goes, however, it corresponds to US 84. The Konjaku story about this temple, 27/3, is quite different from that in Uji-shūi, telling how a ghostly child's hand appeared from a knot-hole in a tree. In another story, UGS 2 and US 195 correspond fairly closely, but KM 6/1 has marked differences. For instance, what in the other two collections is one continuous speech by Ch'in-shih-huang-ti is in Konjaku divided into two by an exposition of the Buddhist faith by the Indian priest whom the Emperor is questioning. Nevertheless, there is a striking correspondence

between all three collections in the opening sentence of the story, which ends with a verb-form rather unusual in such a context, watareri.

That it is not an easy matter to assess degrees of correspondence is well demonstrated by the comments of two Japanese scholars on the Uchigiki tale (18) of Jikaku in China. According to Nakajima[3], this is somewhat closer in wording to US 170 than to KM 11/11, but Takahashi Mitsugu expresses exactly the opposite opinion[4]. Takahashi holds a similar opinion[5] concerning the story (UGS 20, US 171, KM 5/31) of the priest in India who follows a cow through a cave into a kind of wonderland. He may be right as regards the small section which he quotes. But the fact is, as he admits, that the Konjaku story, in which a cowherd follows a wandering cow which is beautiful and feared by other cows, bears only a very general resemblance to the other two versions. Such differences of plot certainly counterbalance the verbal similarities. Incidentally, Uchigiki and Uji-shūi both state that the story is to be found in the diary of Hsüan-tsang, but commentators point out that it does not appear in Hsi-yü-chi.

Perhaps the most interesting parallel between the three works is the story (UGS 21, US 164, KM 9/13) of the boy who uses his father's money to procure the release of some turtles. This is the story quoted in our earlier discussion of style

and also referred to in Chapter 2 because the Konjaku version is not, like the stories around it, a more or less direct translation from the Chinese work Ming-pao-chi. It is significant that while the setting of the Chinese story[6] is China and the turtles' rescuer Chinese, these Japanese versions make the locale and the nationality of the rescuer Indian (though in Konjaku, the story appears in the China section). But against this link between the three Japanese versions must be set the fact that they all differ in specifying the amount of money with which the boy is entrusted. Konjaku says '5,000 ryō', Uchigiki '5,000 kan' and Uji-shūi '50 kan'. None of these figures agrees with that in the Chinese original, which is 50,000. As for wording, Konjaku has some phrases in common with Uji-shūi and some with Uchigiki, but in general these two resemble each other more than Konjaku.

Konjaku-monogatari

We now come to those stories which Uji-shūi has in common with Konjaku but which do not appear in Kohon or Uchigiki. As we have already seen, the degree of similarity between Konjaku and Uji-shūi varies considerably. If all the parallel items are taken into account, including those which appear also in Kohon or Uchigiki, there are about nine times as many in the Watanabe and Nishio B category as in either the D or E

categories. Undoubtedly, some in the C category, i.e. where only part of the Konjaku item appears in Uji-shūi, are close enough parallels to merit inclusion, if they had been whole items, in the B category, so that the above ratio should perhaps be ten to one. When the Kohon and Uchigiki parallels are left out of account, we find that seventy per cent of the Konjaku-Uji-shūi parallels are in the B category, or almost eighty per cent if some of the partial parallels are included.

We need deal here with only two of the five stories in the E category. The first is the story of Heichū, used in modern times by Akutagawa as the basis of his Kōshoku. Both KM 30/1 and US 50 tell essentially the same story, but with important variations. For example, whereas in Konjaku the fascinating but elusive Hon-in-no-jijū does not reply to Heichū's love-letters and, when he begs her at least to write the word 'Seen' to indicate that she has read them, simply tears off and sends to him the part of the paper on which he has written the word, in Uji-shūi she does reply, though giving him no encouragement. Again, after her trickery in the affair of the chamber-pot, Uji-shūi tells us simply that Heichū 'felt as if he were dying,' but in Konjaku he actually does die.

Greater differences even than these are found between the two versions of a story telling how a believer actually

encountered Jizō in real life. KM 17/1, which is close to the version recorded in Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki, has a priest searching for Jizō and finding a boy who is called by that name because his birthday falls on Jizō's day, the twenty-fourth of the month. This boy later gives miraculous signs of divinity, then vanishes, along with his mother. In US 16, however, not only is the searcher a nun and not a priest, but she achieves her ambition when she meets a swindler who promises for a consideration to introduce her to Jizō. He, of course, tricks her by introducing her only to a boy of that name - but when the nun prostrates herself in adoration of the boy, his forehead splits open to reveal the countenance of the Bodhisattva himself.

One other story, US 152 (in the C category), well illustrates what pronounced differences can exist between Konjaku and Uji-shūi. This is one of the three tales in Uji-shūi of Confucius. In it the sage is questioned by an eight-year-old boy and has the worst of the exchange. There are some slight verbal similarities with part of KM 10/9, but while the point of the story is the same in both versions, Konjaku not only has two boys asking Confucius questions to settle a dispute, but the questions asked are different from those in Uji-shūi. The substance of the latter is said[7] to have come from an anecdote in Shih-shuo Hsin-yü[11]. The ultimate source of the Konjaku

version of the story, however, appears to be Lieh Tzu.[8] It should be noted that this anecdote in Konjaku is preceded, in the same item, by a somewhat similar one corresponding, though not exactly, with the tale of Confucius and the boy Hsiang T'o.[9] Although in the Hsiang T'o tale, Confucius meets three boys, his altercation is with only one (as in US 152). In the Konjaku version of the tale, though apparently not elsewhere, the boy states his age as eight (the age given in Uji-shūi).

It must be admitted that such wide divergences are rare. Nevertheless, even in the many stories with some similarity of wording, even, indeed, when the similarity is very great, slight differences are by no means uncommon, mostly in matters of detail, though also in minor points in the course of the action, or even in the identity of the characters. I give below some examples of these differences, though I must make it clear that my lists are not intended, and cannot claim, to be exhaustive. The Uji-shūi details are given first.

I. Differences in numerical statements

All stories noted are in the B category except 119 (D).

23 (p.92/11) - Mochitsune is given two fish (in KM 28/30, three)

27 (p.105/9) - Suemichi and his page run three chō (in KM 23/16, one or two)

32 (p.117/8) - The false Buddha deceives people for five or six days (in KM 20/3, six or seven)

39 (p.128/11) - The cliff is thirty or forty jō in height (in KM 29/31, three or four)

54 (p.154/4) - The number of iron-miners is sixty (in KM 26/15, six)

" (p.155/4) - The gold given to the Governor is eight thousand ryō (in KM, one thousand)

56 (p.156/16-p.157/1) - The boy and girl are both aged eleven or twelve (in KM 26/10, they are fourteen or fifteen and twelve or thirteen respectively)

91 (p.213/1) - The rākṣasas leap fourteen to fifteen jō into the air, or in some Uji-shūi texts forty to fifty (in KM 5/1, four to five)

" (p.215/10) - The number of swordsmen and bowmen is a hundred of each (in KM, ten thousand), the number of ships is unspecified (in KM, a hundred)

92 (Title et seq.) - The deer is five-coloured (in KM 5/18 and in a sūtra, nine-coloured)

94 (p.223/11 and p.224/2-3) - The Middle Counsellor eats five or six (in KM 28/23, three) pieces of the dried cucumber, which are cut into three-inch lengths (in KM, they are three inches long in their uncut state). In both versions of the story,

he eats five or six ayu.

106 (p.255/13) - The woman Michinori attempts to seduce is aged twenty-seven to twenty-eight (in KM 20/10, simply 'over twenty').

119 (p.293/7) - The number of apes is two hundred (in KM 26/7, one hundred, though the KM passage may mean a hundred each on left and right).

121 (p.298/3) - Tadataka appears in a dream twenty (in KM 31/29, ten) days after his death.

124 (p.307/6) - The birds tethered to a pole are four or five mountain, i.e. green, pigeons (in KM 28/21, 'five or six small green birds').

166 (p.367/16) - Ōi no Mitsutō's sister is aged twenty-six to twenty-seven (in KM 23/24, twenty-seven to twenty-eight).

167 (p.370/5-6) - The daughter is said to have died aged ten plus (in KM 9/18, simply 'when young').

177 (p.391/1) - Tsuneyori stands about one shaku from the water's edge (in KM 23/22, four or five).

179 (p.394/7) - The Imperial consort is hoisted two or three shaku off the ground (in KM 16/19, four or five).

180 (p.396/9) - The price of the jewel is ten kan (a hundred times that given in KM 26/16, ten hiki).

II. Differences in detail other than numerical

All stories are in the B category except 44 (D).

24 (beginning) - Atsuyuki is not (as he is in KM 20/44) described as a lay priest, nyūdō.

32 (p.117/5) - The false Buddha appears near 'Gojō no tenjin', i.e. the shrine to Ōnamuchi and Sukunabikona just south of Fifth Avenue (not, as in KM 20/3, near 'Gojō no sai', the same guardian deity of travellers mentioned in US 1, though the site of this guardian deity seems to have been in the same neighbourhood).

44 (p.134/7-8) - Tada Mitsunaka's retainer takes off his hat with the right hand while holding his bow in the left (KM 17/24 states the reverse).

104 (p.253/16) - The holy man is deceived by a badger (but in KM 20/13 and two texts of Uji-shūi, by a wild boar).

120 (p.295/16) - Prince Toyosaki is described as the grandson (but in KM 31/25, as the great-grandson) of the Emperor Kammu.

161 (Title et seq.) - The block of precious metal which Sadabumi acquires is gold (not, as in KM 26/13, silver).

III. Minor differences in the course of the action

All stories are in the B category except 137 and 180 (both C) and 119 (D).

90 (p.209/1-2) - Confucius' disciple responds at once to the old stranger's beckoning, not, as in KM 10/10, only after it becomes more urgent.

92 (p.219/3) - The betrayer of the deer which had saved his life is executed, but in KM 5/18 he is not.

93 (p.220/10 ff.) - Sata makes no advances to the woman, whereas in KM 24/56 he does, but is rebuffed, presumably because of her menses.

119 (p.295/12) - The incident is said to have brought about the substitution of boar and deer for humans as sacrificial victims, but according to KM 26/7, all sacrifices ceased.

137 (p.330/13-14) - The first of the go-playing priests to vanish is the standing one, not, as in KM 4/9, the seated one.

141 Eijitsu is suggested as an exorcist from the outset, but in KM 12/35, only after all the other priests' efforts have failed.

180 (p.396/8 ff.) - When the first price asked by Sadashige's retainer for the jewel is accepted by the

Chinese buyer, he raises it, and it is again eagerly accepted, but in KM 26/16 only one price is asked.

IV. Differences in names

All stories are in the B category except 45 (D).

25 (p.98/7) - Zenchin (in KM 28/20 Zenchi)

45 (p.135/7 & 8) - Saka no sato (in KM 17/25 Nosaka no sato)
Chikanaga (in KM Chikane)

58 (Title et seq.) - Tōhoku-in (in KM 15/22 Urin-in)[10]

91 (p.210/9) - Sōkyata (in KM 5/1 Sōkyara)

118 (p.286/13) - Gojō watari, i.e. the neighbourhood of Fifth Avenue (in KM 27/26, Shijō to Takakura to, i.e. at the intersection of Fourth Avenue and Takakura Lane).

" (p.286/14) - Satonari (in KM Sadanari)

128 (p.311/10) - Yorinobu is said to be Governor of Kōzuke (in KM 25/9, of Hitachi)

177 (Title et seq.) - Tsuneyori (in KM 23/20 Tsuneyo)

185 (p.407/2) - Shumpei is pressed to go to Kara (in KM 24/22, to Sō).

We have already seen, in our discussion of style in Chapter 3, that the general treatment of names is different in the two works, Konjaku being usually more detailed. Very rarely the name of a place or character in Uji-shūi does not appear in Konjaku, e.g. Hikū, US 106, the name of the place where Michinori spends the night, or Sadashige, US 180, the name of the man whose retainer buys a priceless jewel cheaply. In such cases, Konjaku has marks indicating lacunae in the text which, it is now accepted, seem sometimes to be blanks deliberately left, for various reasons, by the compiler.[11] There are many examples in Konjaku of blanks for names where Uji-shūi, in its characteristic way, has either no name whatever, or only a simple short identification. Thus in three of the stories set in China (US 30, 90 and 197), Uji-shūi has no more detail than 'long ago, in China', but the Konjaku versions (10/36, 10/10 and 10/15 respectively) have blanks for an era and/or place-name, e.g. Shindan no --- yo ni --- to iu tokoro ni (10/36). Again, though Uji-shūi does not name the old prince who is Mochitsune's departmental chief (23; it also gives only a personal name to the cook), or the head of the Daian-ji and his son-in-law (112), or the hyōe-no-suke naru hito who acquires a lump of gold (161), Konjaku, in all the corresponding places (28/30, 19/20 and 26/13) has blanks for names or parts of names.

There are two slightly special cases. KM 31/25, the parallel to US 120, begins with a blank for a date-reference, '...in the reign of the Emperor(s) --', whereas Uji-shūi has no mention of date at the beginning but concludes by saying that the events of the story may have occurred in the time of the Emperors Tamura (Montoku) and Minoo (Seiwa). The other case is more important, because it shows Konjaku making a serious and very surprising mistake in identification. Whereas US 102 speaks only of 'the poet Toshiyuki', KM 14/29 calls him Tachibana Toshiyuki. Since at the end of the story Toshiyuki appears in a dream to his friend Ki no Tomonori and since also there is in the Kokin-shū a poem by Tomonori said in the anthology to have been written after the death of Fujiwara Toshiyuki (another Kokin-shū poet) and sent to his house,[12] it seems that Konjaku is almost certainly wrong. This is all the more likely since the writer is apparently unaware in whose reign these events associated with the famous Tomonori took place.[13]

This is not the only mistake to be found in the Konjaku stories which have parallels in Uji-shūi. For instance, whereas the Uji-shūi story of St. Zōga (143) says simply that he was summoned to officiate when the Empress Dowager of Third Avenue (Sanjō-ōkisai-no-miya) was about to become a nun, KM 19/18 goes into much more detail about her identity, but

according to Imano,[14] is quite wrong in identifying the lady of this title, who had been the wife of Reizei and died in 999, with the daughter of the Civil Dictator and Prime Minister of Third Avenue (Sanjō no kampaku dajō-daijin, i.e. Yoritada), who was the consort of En-yū and died in 1017. KM 24/18 may also be wrong in naming the father of Ozuki Mochisuke as Itohira. According to Watanabe and Nishio,[15] while some genealogical works give this name as Itohira, it appears in the Ozuki genealogy, and indeed in two texts of Konjaku itself, as Masahira, the form found in US 122, while Itohira is Mochisuke's uncle. It should be noted, however, that on the basis of the same sources, Nagano prefers the reading Itohira.[16]

Whether or not Konjaku is wrong here, there is no doubt that Uji-shūi contains some mistakes in names, as is shown by an examination of the discrepancies in names listed above under IV. For instance, though the wrestler in US 177 cannot be identified with certainty, the most likely figure, and one other possible candidate, are both mentioned in Heian texts[17] as having the personal name Tsuneyo (as in KM 23/22). Again, Watanabe and Nishio[18] regard the name 'Sadanari', found in KM 27/26, as the correct form for the 'Satonari' of US 118, since there is an appropriate historical figure of that name. 'Sōkyata' in US 91 would seem to be a corruption, since the name used in the corresponding story in Hsi-yü-chi[19] is 僧伽羅,

in the Japanese reading Sōkara or Sōkyara, as in KM 5/1. Uji-shūi is probably also wrong in one of the cases quoted from story 45, for the name 'Nosaka' appears not only in KM 17/25 but also in Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki.[20]

Nevertheless, little consideration is necessary to reach the conclusion that all these errors in names in Uji-shūi are of quite another kind from those quoted above from Konjaku. They all seem likely to have arisen simply through copyists' errors, or some similar cause.

One significant, though small, category of errors comprises those which occur in both Uji-shūi and Konjaku. For example, in the story of the sudden death of Sadataka at Court (US 121, KM 31/29), his father is said to have been of the Third Rank, though according to the Muromachi-period work of genealogy Sompi-bummyaku,[21] he was only of the Lower Grade of the Junior Fifth Rank. Watanabe and Nishio think that there may have been some confusion between Sadataka and his grandfather, whose father was of the Third Rank. Whatever the cause, the error is of interest to us because it is made by both versions of the story. Again, the member of the Takashina family whose younger brother learns the art of divination by laying sticks is in both US 185 and KM 24/22 called Shumpei, is a former Governor of Tango and later enters religion, being called the lay priest of Tango. Watanabe

and Nishio point out,[22] however, that though one Shimpei appears in the Takashina genealogy, and is said to have become Governor of Tango and entered religion, there is no mention of any figure named Shumpei.

To these examples of common error might be added two cases (though the first is not strictly an example of error) of what has already been mentioned in relation to the turtle story (US 164), namely divergence of the Japanese version of a story from the ultimate Chinese source. The first story is that of the girl who after rebirth as a sheep is eaten by her own father. In both US 167 and KM 9/18, the girl's father is about to leave on a journey and decides to entertain his relatives before going. Though Uji-shūi differs from Konjaku in that it specifies the purpose of the journey, they both differ from the original source of the story, Ming-pao-chi, for this[23] makes no mention of any journey as a reason for the banquet. The second example is the anecdote of Confucius' encounter with the bandit Tao-Shih. Both US 197 and KM 10/15 include in Tao Shih's diatribe against the sage's teaching the statement that Confucius' disciple Yen Hui died young. But in the passage from Chuang Tzu which is usually accepted as the source of this anecdote, no such statement appears. This is hardly surprising, since an earlier section of the same passage[24] states that Yen Hui accompanied Confucius on his visit

to the bandit, a fact which, needless to say, Uji-shūi and Konjaku do not record.

This last example is all the more notable for the occurrence, within this statement by the bandit which otherwise seems so clearly to link the two Japanese versions, of an interesting textual difference; where Uji-shūi (p.434/7) has fukō 不幸 (ni shite inochi mijikashi), Konjaku has fukaku 不覺 (ni shite inochi mijikaku shite shiniki). It seems highly probable, in view of the prevalence at this time of what the Japanese call u-ombin, that the difference in meaning here arose from a confusion of similar-sounding words, though it is impossible to guess which was the original meaning, and the text of Chuang Tzu cannot help since it has no counterpart to this sentence.

Let me conclude this examination of Uji-shūi-Konjaku parallels with some further examples of textual variants which may well have arisen from confusions of sounds (possibly through copyists' errors, though perhaps in some cases in the course of oral transmission). I would stress that these and all the foregoing examples are presented without any assumption as to the priority of one text over the other, or even as to the existence of any direct relationship, since both may be derived from a common source. These are questions to be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

V. Textual variants suggestive of copyists' errors, etc.

All stories are in the B category except 59, 137 and 172 (C). 59 and 172 are from the same Konjaku item.

US 24.....higagoto na shi-tamai so; fushigi no koto shi-tamau oya ka na (p.97/3-4 and 8)

KM 20/44...higagoto na notamai so; keu no koto o mo notamai-keru hito ka na

US 25.....araku mote-agekereba (p.99/11)

KM 28/20...ashiku mochi-agekereba

US 27.....akuru mama ni hashirinokite, tsuiji hashirisuguru (p.105/7)

KM 23/16...kado o hiraku mama ni, hashirinobite, tsuji ni hashiri-oretsutsu

(Elsewhere in this story, Konjaku has tsuigaki where Uji-shūi has tsuiji. See also US 91 below.)

US 29.....kashikō imijiki ayamachi suran. Kashiko ni wa... ...keu no waza suru otoko ka na (p.109/12-14)

KM 26/4....ashiko (the character could also be read kashiko) ni wa.....keu no ayamachi o suran.

US 31.....kokoro mo okazu oikereba (p.116/2)

KM 23/21...tokoro mo okazu oikereba

US 54.....sono kogane, hassenryō bakari arikeru (p.155/4)

(Two texts of Uji-shūi have sono kogane wa senryō...)

KM 26/15...sono kogane, senryō arikeri

US 59.....kore ga kaku naku koto (p.165/8)

KM 19/2....tori kaku naku yo

US 91.....shiroku takaki tsuiji; tsuiji o takaku kizuki-megurashitari (p.211/6 and 13-14)

KM 5/1.....hiroku takaki tsuigaki; tsuigaki o kataku kizuki-meguraseri

US 92.....ima sono on o wasurete korosase-tatematsuran to su. Ika ni nanji, mizu ni oborete... (p.218/13-14)

KM 5/18....sono on o wasurete dai-ō ni mōshite korosasuru kokoro, ika ni zo. Mizu ni oborete...

US 102.....kaku ikō (in kana, ikau) takeki mi (p.245/11)

KM 14/29...ikari no takaki mi

US 137.....utsu ni shitagaite (p.331/1-2)

KM 4/9.....uchishitagaete

US 162.....sono toki no mi-yuki (p.362/10)

KM 28/6....sono toshi no mi-yuki

US 163.....sukoshi Katsura-gawa o wataru (p.363/14)

KM 27/42...suginishi Katsura-gawa o wataru

US 172.....sōzen o mōkete kyō o kō-ji-tamaikeru (p.380/15)

KM 19/2....sōgu o mōkete nengoro ni kuyō shi-tamau ni

US 177.....katatsura ni gorokusun bakari ashi o fumi-irete (p.391/11)

KM 23/22...kataki tsuchi ni gorokusun bakari ashi o fumi-irete

US 180.....Hakata to iu tokoro ni yukitsukinikeri (p.396/3)

KM 26/16...kanata ni yukitsukinikeri

US 185.....sara nari (p.407/2-3)

KM 24/22...sa nari

US 196.....kaesugaesu onoga haji narubeshi (p.430/16 - p.431/1)

KM 10/11...kaerite waga tame ni haji tarubeshi

Kojidan

Since Kojidan stories are not numbered, Japanese references to the position of individual items within the work usually indicate only in which of the six books they occur. In Table 4 (pp.365-368), however, I give for all those stories which have parallels in Uji-shūi page references to the Kokushi-taikei edition.

If allowance is made for the difference in style between Uji-shūi and Kojidan, the resemblance between their respective versions of stories is close, and in some cases almost exact. There are fourteen stories in Watanabe and Nishio's A category, of which about half are Buddhist, or at least concern Buddhist priests.

Of the five stories in the B category, that about Michinaga and the dog, US 184, shows the widest difference of wording. The Kojidan version of the Dōmyō story, US 1, as we have seen, makes the conversation between the priest and the old deity very abrupt, with the deity revealing his identity from the start. There is a close correspondence in the Takemasa story, US 188, until near the end, where Uji-shūi becomes slightly more circumstantial. The story of the Kegon service at the Tōdai-ji is a close parallel to US 103, but is a special case, since a closer parallel still

is found in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki.[25]

There is one D category parallel. In US 7, the tale of the hermit who takes the place of a stag in order to convert his friend, he is not named, but described simply as 'the holy man of Ryōmon'. Besides being less interestingly narrated, the Kojidan version makes no mention of the place, but does give the hermit a name, St. Shunken (Shunken shōnin).

Of the seven E category parallels, four, US 151, 173, 193 and 194, are extremely remote, while another, US 144, is hardly to be called a parallel at all, since the Kojidan item is so brief and barely relevant. But the remaining two are of some interest, as they show how great a variation was possible between stories about figures in Court society. In the first of these, Kojidan tells basically the same story as US 35, but only suggests in a note, rather than stating definitely, that the lady involved is Koshikibu-no-naishi. More important, it names the lover who is embarrassed by her reaction to the sound of her other lover's sūtra-reading outside her room as Fujiwara Yorimune, not, as in Uji-shūi, the Civil Dictator, i.e. Norimichi. Above all, the embarrassment is said in Kojidan, but not in Uji-shūi, to have been so extreme as to have caused him to enter religion. (Though this feature is lacking in Uji-shūi, the story there follows another describing an embarrassing experience with a woman, in which

the first impulse of the man concerned is to shave his head and become a priest, though he soon changes his mind.) The second of these two examples deals with the inaugural banquet of the Tominokōji Minister of the Right, Fujiwara Akitada. Whereas in the relevant section of US 97 the banquet is meagre but the guests are given magnificent horses as presents, in Kojidan the main guest, Lord Ononomiya, sees two very fine horses in the stable which are very much out of keeping with the shabbiness of the house - but they are not presented to the guests.

Chapter Five

UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI - III

A SURVEY OF JAPANESE VIEWS ON ITS DATE

Many manuscripts and early editions of Uji-shūi contain fragments of a preface, but only the 1659 printed edition gives the preface in full. It reads as follows:-

'There exists a book known as "The Tales of the Great Counsellor of Uji" (Uji-dainagon-monogatari). This Great Counsellor was a man called Takakuni, who was the grandson of Lord Nishinomiya[1] and the second son of the Great Counsellor Toshikata.[2] In his old age, as he felt the heat, he obtained leave to go and stay from the fifth to the eighth months in a place called the Nansen Cell (Nansen-bō), close to the mountains on the south side of the Tripitaka storehouse belonging to the Byōdō Cloister (Byōdō-in). Thus he was known as "The Great Counsellor of Uji".

With his queue tied up in a way which gave him a rather peculiar appearance, he would sit taking the air on a mat spread out on the boards and have a servant cool

him with a large fan. Meanwhile he would call in passers-by, low-class people as well as high, and invite them to tell tales of days gone by, while he reclined in his room and wrote down the tales in large notebooks, just as they were told.

There are tales of India, of Great T'ang and of Japan. They are of many different kinds, some inspiring, some amusing, some terrifying, some moving, some coarse. Some (just a few) are fictitious, some witty. They are widely enjoyed. There are fourteen[3] books of them. The original copy was handed down and was in the possession of a person called the Chamberlain (jijū) Toshisada.[4] What happened to it is not clear, but later, as skilful people wrote in additional material, the number of stories became much greater. In fact, there are even some copies in which stories of a period later than that of the Great Counsellor have been interpolated.

And now in our time, a text has appeared in which further stories have been interpolated. It appears to have gathered in some stories which are not found in the Great Counsellor's tales, and to have collected some later than his time. It is called Uji-shūi-monogatari. It is difficult to know whether it was given this name because it gathers in tales remaining at Uji, or whether it is so

called because a jijū is known as a shūi. It remains a mystery.'

Largely because of the once-prevalent but now exploded fallacy that the 'Tales of the Great Counsellor of Uji' mentioned in this preface were none other than an early form of Konjaku, the information which it contains has tended to be thought unreliable. According to Masuda[5], it is now becoming less and less usual to quote the preface to Uji-shūi in discussions of the compilation of Konjaku. But this should make it all the easier for this preface to be considered with an open mind, in relation to the work to which it is attached.

It is true that it was clearly not written by the same hand as Uji-shūi itself. It is also true that its description of Takakuni compiling a tale-collection at Uji bears all the marks of a pleasing fiction and cannot be supported by any direct evidence. But there is, as will be seen in Chapter 6, ample evidence to prove that Takakuni, who was known as 'Uji-dainagon', was indeed the compiler of a collection of tales[6], and there seems no reason to disagree with the opinion of Watanabe and Nishio[7] that, in view of the following facts -- (a) the appearance, in all the main texts of Uji-shūi, of a preface with roughly the same lacunae, (b) the statement in the preface that Uji-shūi appeared ima no yo ni, 'in our time',

and (c) the accuracy of its information concerning Takakuni and Toshikata -- the preface was probably written not long after the completion of Uji-shūi, by a person who was fairly well-informed about the compilation and transmission of tale-collections.

Unfortunately, the knowledge that the preface was written not long after the date of completion of Uji-shūi gives us no direct information as to when this was. For one thing, the identity of the 'Chamberlain Toshisada' is obscure. According to Katayose[8], four figures with the name Toshisada written 俊貞, as in this preface, appear in Sompi-bummyaku. On the grounds that the past tense used in the phrase in the preface 'a person called...Toshisada' (Toshisada to iishi hito) makes it clear that the writer lived after Toshisada's time, but that he appears to have lived at about the time when Uji-shūi was compiled, i.e. according to the usual dating of the work, between 1190 and the Kempō period, 1213-1219 (Katayose believes the preface may have been composed to accompany a text very close in time to the original), he eliminates three of the four figures, one who lived in the eleventh century, one whose dates are obscure, and one other, a certain Takashina Toshisada. The strongest candidate of the four he considers to be a Fujiwara. Since this was a son of Tomomichi, who died in 1141 aged forty, Katayose deduces that the son would have

been about sixty or seventy when Uji-shūi was written. He believes the wording of the preface, particularly the use of the -ki (attributive -shi) past form in the phrase quoted above, to suggest that Toshisada will have been older, but not very much older, than the writer.

The figure whom Watanabe and Nishio[9] consider the most likely candidate is a descendant in the sixth generation of Takakuni himself, though this man's name is written differently (俊定). His dates are unknown, but Watanabe and Nishio quote a reference dated 1164 to a 'Chamberlain Toshisada (俊定)' which they think may be to this Minamoto Toshisada. There is no evidence, incidentally, that Fujiwara Tomomichi's son was ever a chamberlain.

As we have said, Watanabe and Nishio believe the preface to have been written not too long after Uji-shūi, but they are critical[10] of Katayose's view that the writer of the preface and Toshisada were perhaps almost contemporaries. For one thing, they dispute the validity as evidence of the -ki past form, which they say was coming to be used like -keri. Again, they argue (against Katayose's view of the wording of the preface) that certain phrases -- nochi ni, 'later', and saru hodo ni ima no yo ni, 'And now in our time' -- can be taken to indicate some lapse of time between Toshisada (whether the Fujiwara or the Minamoto) and the writing of the preface.

They emphasize that the period within which Uji-shūi may have been compiled must now be considered to extend up to 1242.

In this connection, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider the Takashina Toshisada mentioned above. In saying that this figure is too late, Katayose is working on the assumption that Uji-shūi was written between 1190 and 1219. He gives no estimate of this man's dates, but my own examination of the Takashina genealogy[11] shows that he is only five generations removed, though not directly descended, from Takashina Tameie. Tameie is said[12] to have been exiled in 1093, and figures in US 93, a story whose events must have taken place after, but probably not long after, 1077.[13] Thus, allowing twenty-five years for each generation, Takashina Toshisada may be presumed to have lived between 1225 and 1250. Now if, while accepting the extension of the terminal date for Uji-shūi to ca. 1242 (the argument for this is discussed later in this chapter), we were to work on Katayose's assumption that Toshisada and the writer of the preface were not far apart in time, it would become permissible to consider as a possibility, however remote, that the Toshisada in question here is Takashina Toshisada.

The idea is perhaps not the idle speculation that it might seem. Although Japanese scholars broadly agree about the date at which Uji-shūi was compiled, the only theory that

has been advanced in modern times as to the identity of the compiler is that of Nakajima, who suggests[14] that he might possibly have been a member of the Takashina family. In an appendix to his notes to story 186 (in his edition numbered 15/1)[15], he gives as his reason for this the fact that the end of the story seems to give prominence to the honouring of the member of the Takashina family who had given the fugitive Crown Prince, later the Emperor Temmu, a drink of water in the province of Shima. Nakajima's suggestion, perhaps not surprisingly, has found no support. It is worthy of note, however, that more characters in the work have Takashina connections than one might expect. Indeed, the story (185) immediately preceding that which Nakajima mentions is about the brother of Takashina Shumpei. The only Takashina specifically mentioned as such is Tameie in 93. However, Michitoshi, in 10, is the son of a Takashina mother, the father of Haku-no-haha and her sister in 41 is a Takashina, and Sadayū, in 118, is said in Nagano's edition of Konjaku[16] to have been the son of a Takashina mother. Also the one story (61) without known parallel which appears in the otherwise unbroken run of Kojidan borrowings (60, 62-9) concerns Takashina Naritō, though he is referred to simply as Naritō.

However, it must be admitted that the most likely Toshisada of those mentioned is the descendant of Takakuni. Cert-

ainly, identification of Takashina Toshisada with the figure mentioned in the preface would seem to place the initial interpolation of tales into Takakuni's text at a somewhat remote point in time from Takakuni himself.

In the absence of any other evidence, theories about the date of Uji-shūi have of necessity been based on internal evidence alone. The view that the compilation was made in the Kempō period, 1213-1219, was first propounded by Satō Seijitsu[17] in 1901, on the basis of the following three passages:-

1. The ending of the story concerning the origin of the Kegon service at the Tōdai-ji, 103. This reads, 'Until thirty-four years ago, this mackerel-staff tree was green and flourishing. From that time it withered, though it remained standing, but recently it was burnt down, when the Heike fired the temple. The age is indeed decadent; how sad it is!'

2. The ending, and the note which in some texts follows it, of the story (116) of the monk Myōsen, whose musical skill so impresses the Emperor that he is presented with the Emperor's own flute. This reads,'The flute in question has been handed down and is said to be in the possession of Yukikiyo, the head of the Yahata Shrine. (The flute in question was presented by Yukikiyo to the present Emperor, 1215.)'

3. The reference, at the beginning of the story about

a ghostly flying-squirrel (159), to 'the retired Emperor Go-Toba.'

Satō accepts the second of these passages without question, and takes the reference to the year 1215 as evidence that the story was written in that year. For reasons which we shall see, he takes the first passage as an indication that the story was written in 1216. Inconveniently, the reference to Go-Toba does not fit in with these other dates, since, as Satō himself points out, Go-Toba was not so called until 1242. Accordingly, Satō maintains that the new name given in that year must have been substituted in the text for the designation originally used, which he suggests may have been 'Senior Retired Emperor' (hon-in). Nomura[18] thinks this explanation too easy and takes the view that the whole story must have been written in or after 1242. He insists that one must keep an open mind about a terminal date for the compilation. The whole work might have been written after 1242, though he thinks this unlikely, since it contains no stories about the Shogunate and eastern Japan such as are found in Kokon-chomon-jū, written only twelve years after 1242. It is more likely that this story was interpolated in an already existing text. This is indeed the position taken by most scholars.[19]

If we examine Satō's conclusions from the other two passages which he quotes, we find that very valid objections have been raised to them, notably by Gotō Tanji.[20] According to Satō, the occurrence of an actual date in the note to story 116 proves that the story was written at that time. The first objection to this is that it is possible to interpret the note in more than one way. It could be, as Satō takes it, that the date indicates the year of writing, but Gotō interprets it to mean that in 1215 the flute was given to the reigning Emperor, i.e. reigning both in 1215 and at the time of the note. Interpreted in this way, the note cannot be dated more closely than 'in the reign of Juntoku', i.e. 1215-1221. Gotō's second objection is that it is by no means certain that this final sentence was written together with the story which it follows. It appears in only three texts, and there in small characters, divided into two columns. It is in Chinese, unlike the rest of the story. Furthermore, it not only somewhat curiously repeats the phrase 'the flute in question' from the previous sentence, but is a contradiction of that sentence. Possibly, therefore, this final sentence is a note added at some time after the story itself was written, though whether by the original writer or by someone else it is impossible to say. The story proper provides one further possible piece of evidence of its date, namely that Yukikiyo

is described as Yahata no bettō, 'the head of the Yahata Shrine'. There is some doubt here, it seems, whether the Japanese term is to be taken in its full sense; according to Gotō, Yukikiyo was appointed in 1192, as a young lad in his early teens, and did not take up the duties of his office until 1207. If one assumes that the reference is to Yukikiyo as bettō in the full sense, the story can be dated between 1207 and 1215. However, Gotō points out that it appears, with almost identical wording, though without the 1215 note, in Kojidan. If, as he thinks, this Uji-shūi story was copied from Kojidan, the details concerning Yukikiyo cease to have any bearing on its date. All that can then be said is that it cannot have been written before 1212 or, for the reasons given above, after 1221.

Satō's argument concerning the tree passage in 103 is the least plausible of all. Pointing out that Uji-shūi (which he believes to be based on Konjaku) differs markedly at this point from the Konjaku text, which reads, 'This staff on which he had carried the mackerel is still in the grounds on the eastern side of the Buddha Hall. Its size never increases and it has never flourished, always having a withered appearance,' he comments, 'It is probable that Uji-shūi originally stated that this tree did not flourish but remained standing in a withered state, but that copyists' errors or

something of that sort must have been made. The specific mention of thirty-four years and not just vaguely thirty or forty years seems like a reference to the time of the burning.' Since the temple was burnt in 1180, he concludes that this story was written in the Kempō period, thirty-four years later.

Apart from the fact that Satō's argument depends on an astonishingly bland assumption of textual corruption, it is also open to criticism for its interpretation of the phrase kono tabi, 'recently'. Sakai[21] argues that this cannot reasonably be used of an event of thirty-four years before, and considers that this period of years must be reckoned from some date sufficiently close to the burning of the temple to be referred to as having taken place kono tabi, 'recently'. His conclusion is that this date was probably between 1182 and 1190.

Gotō, however, has proved conclusively that not only Satō but also Sakai is wrong about this passage. He compares this Uji-shūi story with a section of a work entitled Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki in which roughly the same story is told, with very great similarities in wording. This work is an account in Chinese by the priest Jitsuei of a pilgrimage made by the Empress in 1191 to the shrines and temples of Yamato. The original source of the story appears to have been Tōdai-ji-yōroku, a collection of tales and records concerning the

Tōdai-ji thought to have been made, by some unknown author, between 1106 and 1134. Gotō notes the striking fact that though Tōdai-ji-yōroku contains no corresponding passage to this controversial sentence in Uji-shūi about the withering of the tree (it could obviously not contain any mention of the burning of the temple), a similar passage does occur in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the two versions are related. The problem then is, which version was written first. Gotō considers that the Uji-shūi story is based on that in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki, on the ground that its style shows much Chinese influence, unlike the predominantly Japanese tone of the work as a whole. Thus this Uji-shūi story can only be dated as not earlier than 1191. More important, if the Uji-shūi version is based on that in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki, the phrase 'until thirty-four years ago' can tell us nothing about the date of Uji-shūi, since it appears also in Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki and will simply have been taken over unchanged, even though the point of reference is different. Gotō emphasizes that it is not unusual for references of this kind to remain unchanged when stories are taken from one collection into another, and points to another instance in the same story, the kono tabi, 'recently', which appears in both Uji-shūi and Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki.

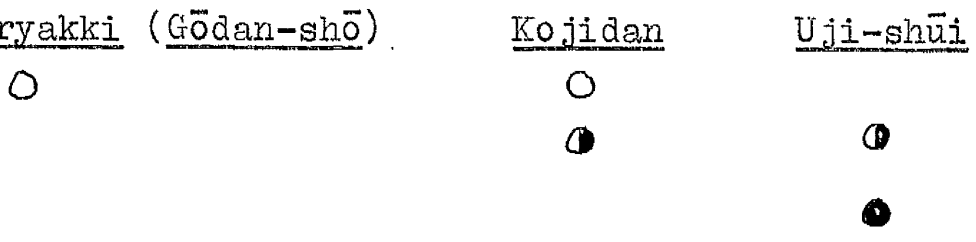
In addition to these points of detail in individual stories, there is a wider aspect of Uji-shūi through which one might hope to establish its date, that is, its relationship with Kojidan. We have seen already that many Uji-shūi stories have close parallels in this work, and mention has twice been made of the view that the relationship was Kojidan ⟶ Uji-shūi, and not vice versa. But on this subject, not all scholars are agreed. While it is true that the majority accept Kojidan as a source for Uji-shūi, such an eminent authority as Ikeda Kikan upholds[22] the opposite view. Another notable dissentient is Sakai.[23]

An important contribution to this subject has been made since the war by Masuda.[24] Though he shares the views of Gotō and Yafuki on the priority of Kojidan over Uji-shūi, he does not think the evidence they advance for it sufficiently convincing. (Gotō, in his discussion[25] of the Yukikiyo story, 116, maintains that statements as to the whereabouts of some object such as are found at the end of this story are common in Kojidan but rare in Uji-shūi; while Yafuki,[26] besides supporting this point of Gotō's, bases his main argument on the stylistic difference between the two works, mentioned in Chapter 3 above.)

One small new point of detail which Masuda discusses[27] is

the fact that the statement in the Uji-shūi story of Shimmyōbu, 60, to the effect that her spiritual teacher was a man of eighty who had recited the Lotus Sūtra 84,000 times, appears as a normal part of the text, whereas in the Kojidan version, it is inserted as a note, in small characters and divided into two lines. Masuda very reasonably considers it unlikely that anyone copying from Uji-shūi would have converted part of the text into a note, but quite probable that the note in the Kojidan story could have been incorporated into the ordinary text when the story was taken into Uji-shūi.

In the main part of his investigation,[28] Masuda compares Uji-shūi and Kojidan versions of stories with the versions found in other works known to have served as sources for Kojidan. Thus the two versions of the Ban Yoshio story (US 4) are compared with that in Gōdan-shō, and those of the Jōzō story (US 117) with that in Fusō-ryakki. The interesting result of these comparisons is that Kojidan is found to have similarities of phrasing both with Uji-shūi and with Gōdan-shō and Fusō-ryakki, but that Uji-shūi has a few expressions not found in the Kojidan or the other versions. This relationship, which Masuda shows diagrammatically thus:-



does indeed seem to establish more convincingly than anything previously cited in evidence that Kojidan did serve as a source for Uji-shūi.

We have now examined in detail the arguments which have so far been advanced concerning the date of Uji-shūi. As is shown by the following list quoted from Watanabe and Nishio,[29] estimates have varied widely:-

(i)	Kikuchi Hisakichi	1188
(ii)	Satō Seijitsu	1216
(iii)	Sakai Kōhei	1182-1190
(iv)	Fujioka Sakutarō, Takashima Ken-ichi, Araki Yoshio	1213-1219
(v)	Satō Sukeo	1191-1198
(vi)	Gotō Tanji	1211-1221
(vii)	Fujii Otoo	1177-1212
(viii)	Nomura Hachirō	1177-1242
(ix)	Nakajima Etsuji	1210-1215

Despite these differences of opinion, however, there is clearly agreement on the general period. The tendency, also, has been to treat Uji-shūi as a compilation made more or less at one time (with the exception, of course, of story 159), so

that deductions about individual stories have been regarded as valid for the work as a whole. Nomura, it is true, goes further than most in admitting the likelihood that the present Uji-shūi contains items interpolated in the original, possibly even by several hands. It could even, he says, be regarded as still incomplete. He makes the good point[30] that the Uji-shūi versions of Kojidan stories may not all have been written at the same time, but could have been the work of different people. He gives no reason for his opinion, but this might in fact explain the great variation in the degrees of closeness to Kojidan. Watanabe and Nishio, though they do not commit themselves to a date, do admit[31] that tale literature 'is a form particularly susceptible of later interpolations, and it cannot be said with certainty that Uji-shūi is free of them.'

In my view, there are several positive grounds for doubting that Uji-shūi was written all at one time. But these can best be discussed as part of the wider problem of the interrelationships of the Konjaku group of works. I propose, therefore, first to outline the development of Japanese studies of this problem, and to conclude with my own observations both on these interrelationships and on the date, compilation and structure of Uji-shūi.

Chapter Six

UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI - IV

A SURVEY OF JAPANESE VIEWS ON ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER WORKS

There can be few things in the history of Japanese literature more confusing than the astonishing variety of names by which the tale-collections of the Uji-shūi-Konjaku group have been known at different times. We find, for instance, that two texts of Uji-shūi bear the titles Uji-no-dainagon-no-monogatari and Uji-dainagon-monogatari, while another has the title Uji-monogatari and yet another Konjaku-monogatari. A reference in Tamon-in-nikki under the date 1583 to a collection bearing this last name is also thought to be to the present Uji-shūi, presumably because it specifies the number of books as fifteen. This example of the use of the title Konjaku-monogatari for Uji-shūi, first noted by Wada Hidematsu[1], is widely quoted. Surprisingly, two further examples of early uses of 'Konjaku-monogatari' cited by Sakai[2] are not; they are even ignored by the otherwise encyclopaedic Katayose. One of these is Konjaku-monogatari-emaki, which, according to Sakai, is the same as an Uji-shūi-monogatari-emaki of the

seventeenth century. It is described as containing twelve pictures (each illustrating a story from Uji-shūi, namely 109, 108, 83, 148, 122, 44, 85, 89, 3, 36, 78 and 29) by an artist, Chieda Korehisa, who Sakai thinks lived ca. 1270, despite other references which place him in the first half of the fourteenth century. The other is Konjaku-monogatari-ekotoba, an illustrated version, said by Sakai to date probably from the period 1312-1317, of the story of human sacrifice found both in Uji-shūi (119) and Konjaku (26/7). He seems to imply, though he does not make it quite clear, that the text of this corresponds with that in the present Uji-shūi.

The first use of 'Konjaku-monogatari' as the title of the present work of that name does not occur until 1667,[3] and it is from roughly the same time that we find[4] this work attributed to Minamoto Takakuni and said to have been compiled from travellers' tales at Uji. That confusion was complete is shown by the entry in a Genroku-period bibliography[5] to the effect that an Uji-shūi-monogatari in fifteen books was compiled by Takakuni in the aforesaid manner.

The name Uji-shūi-monogatari, apart from its use in the preface to the present work of that name, whose date, as we have seen, is obscure, appears in the Muromachi-period bibliography Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku,[6] where it is included in the section entitled kana (i.e. containing titles of monogatari)

and said to be in twenty books, by Minamoto Takakuni. It occurs also in two Muromachi-period diaries, (a) Kammon-gyoki,[7] where it is stated that on the twenty-third day of the eleventh month of 1438 the Palace sent for Uji-dainagon-monogatari, and seven books (jō 帖) were submitted, while on the tenth of the twelfth month nine books (also jō) of Uji-shūi-monogatari were submitted, and (b) Sanetaka-kō-ki,[8] which contains four entries (eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth and nineteenth days) for the seventh month of 1475 mentioning readings to the Emperor of tale-collections, the first naming Uji-dainagon-monogatari, the next two Uji-shūi-monogatari and the fourth Uji-(no)-ashō-(no)-monogatari. This last title is reminiscent of the reference in the preface of Kokon-chomon-jū to 'the clever stories of the ashō (i.e. dainagon) of Uji'. According to Katayose,[9] the three titles in these diaries all probably indicate the same work, the present Uji-shūi, but he can give no real evidence for this, and it may be thought strange that the diarists should thus ring the changes on the titles.

Undoubtedly, the name which occurs most frequently throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, and even in the Heian period, is 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. A reference to the title alone, as in Jūrin-in-naifu-ki,[10] under the date 1482, tells us little. More useful are a number of references specifically connecting a work of this title with the

name of Takakuni, e.g. in Waka-iroha-shū (?1195)[11], Yakumo-mi-shō[12] (1221) and a work of unknown title on poetry, thought to have been composed in the period 1288-1301.[13] In each of these, the title is included in lists of monogatari, which proves that such a work by Takakuni did exist, though it does not give any indication when or how the work was compiled. Most important, however, are the numerous quotations of or references to specific stories from an 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. Some, but not all, of these stories are found in collections of the group which we are examining, but no collection has all even of those. I have therefore listed the quotations or references not in strict chronological order but in groups according to the collections in which the stories are found to occur.

1. Uji-shūi and Konjaku

The text of Shimei-shō[14], a commentary (?1293-1298) on Genji-monogatari, which is in the library of the Ministry of the Imperial Household quotes as from 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari' a story concerning the priest Eijitsu which corresponds closely, both in content and in wording, though it is not identical, with US 141 and KM 12/35. The Shimei-shō story has some phrases closer to Uji-shūi, some to Konjaku.

2. Uji-shūi and Uchigiki

Book 6 of Jimon-denki, or Onjō-ji-denki,[15] a collection of records, biographies of priests etc. connected with the Onjō-ji (i.e. the Mii temple) which was compiled about 1300 by some person unknown, quotes as from 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari' a story of St. Kūya which corresponds to US 142 and the first section of UGS 26. The tale in Jimon-denki is written in semi-Chinese, but the differences of phrasing are too great to be accounted for solely by the difference of style. In particular, the Jimon-denki version gives as the reason for Kūya's deformed arm a fall from a bed, whereas in Uji-shūi and Uchigiki it is said to have been caused when his mother threw him to the floor in a fit of anger.

3. Konjaku alone

The seven-book manuscript of Hōbutsu-shū[16] contains, shortly after the beginning of the first book, a passage apropos of the poem Tonomori no tomo no miyakko kokoro araba kono haru bakari asa-giyome su na, 'Sweepers of the Palace, if you have any feeling, do not sweep in the mornings while spring lasts'. This passage states the circumstances under which 'according to Yotsugi[17] and the tales of Takakuni, the

Great Counsellor of Uji', the poem was written. A story on this same subject, though much longer (the Hōbutsu-shū version is only a brief outline), is found in Konjaku, 24/32. It is interesting and perhaps significant that the poem in question is attributed in Shūi-shū[18] to Kintada, but in both Hōbutsu-shū and Konjaku to Atsutada.

(For two other stories found in Konjaku alone but not under the title Uji-dainagon-monogatari, see under 8 below.)

4. Konjaku and Kohon

One section of Shichi-daiji-junrei-shiki[19], an account of a pilgrimage to the temples of Nara made by Ōe Chikamichi in the year 1140, ends with the remark 'The same story is found in Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. This is the oldest known reference to a work bearing that full title. This story concerning the rebuilding of the Kōfuku-ji after it had been burnt down appears in Konjaku, 12/21, and Kohon, 47. Allowing for the fact that it is in Chinese, the resemblances are reasonably close. Kawaguchi points out[20] that in one sense Kohon is closer to the Chinese version than Konjaku, since it preserves the appearance of oral tradition, and the Chinese version actually states that it had an oral source; in Konjaku, on

the other hand, a conscious attempt has been made to present the story as historical fact.

5. Kohon alone

The Genji commentary Shimei-shō[21] (in the same text as mentioned under 1, above) relates a version of the story, referred to in the Suetsumuhana chapter, of the discomfiture of Heichū, i.e. Taira Sadabumi, when a lady puts ink into the water which he uses to splash on his face in order to pretend that he is weeping at her treatment of him. This story is preceded by the note ' Minamoto Sadabumi, Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. The form of the note is confusing, since it might appear to suggest that Sadabumi is the author of the monogatari named. This cannot be the intention, however, and it seems clear that 'Minamoto' must be a mistake for 'Taira', so that the name is that of the character in the story, Heichū.

The above reference should be considered together with a similar one in another commentary on Genji, Kakai-shō[22] (?1346-1348), by Yotsuji Yoshinari. This gives essentially the same story, though with slightly different wording and with only one of the two poems in the Shimei-shō version. The name of the character in the story is given as 平定仲文, a curious mixture of the two names Taira Sadabumi (written

with the first, second and fourth of the above characters) and Heichū (written with the first and third).

This story appears in Kohon (19), a fact which at the time when this work was brought to public notice, raised hopes that the lost Uji-dainagon-monogatari might at last have come to light. The story in the two commentaries appears to be in the form of a summary, so that little comparison with the wording of Kohon can be made.

6. Stories not found in the Uji-shūi-Konjaku group of works

(a) Yet another tale, under the heading 'Uji-dainagon' appears in the Shimei-shō text[23] mentioned earlier. This is a description of a celebration at Court in honour of the fortieth birthday of the Emperor Uda, and is quoted in connection with the Momiji no ga (Festival of Red Leaves) section of Genji. Its subject matter is of the yūsoku-kojitsu type, common in works like Gōdan-shō. This tale, however, does not appear elsewhere.

(b) At the end of a story in book 5 of Shingon-den[24] relating the career of the priest Yōshō, there appears a reference to 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. This story, however, does not occur in Uji-shūi or any related collection.

7. The present Uji-dainagon-monogatari

Kachō-yosei[25] (1472), another commentary on Genji, by Ichijō Kaneyoshi, also contains a quotation from 'Uji-dainagon-monogatari'. This is a story which says that Genji was the creation of Murasaki Shikibu's father, Tametoki, her part having been to fill in the details. The only other works in which this story occurs are Yotsugi-monogatari and the almost identical Uji-dainagon-monogatari, in both of which it appears word for word, exactly as in Kachō-yosei. The reference is thus clearly to the second of these two, and not to any work by Takakuni.

8. Other references and quotations

(a) Chūgai-shō[26] contains an entry, under the date 1150, where Tadazane tells of an experience which he had had as a youth while hawking and which had made him feel great pity for the prey. He goes on to say, 'Later, when I heard a lady-in-waiting read the tales of the Great Counsellor and I heard how a great enthusiast for hawking turned into a pheasant and was terrified by a hawk, I got up the next morning and turned all my hawks loose. Thereafter I took no interest in the sport.' Ikeda, in drawing attention to this

passage, points out[27] that the story of the pheasant is found in Konjaku (19/8). He also says that the reference to 'the tales of the Great Counsellor' must clearly be to those of Takakuni.

(b) In the section of the historical work Gukan-shō[28] (?1219-1221) dealing with the Emperor Ichijō (book 3), it is said that Takakuni, the Great Counsellor of Uji, wrote that he had been told the following anecdote by Lord Uji (i.e. Yorimichi, son of Michinaga):- 'When Michinaga was clearing up the effects of the Emperor Ichijō after his death, he found in a box what appeared to be a decree written in the Emperor's hand, beginning, "Though the three luminaries strive to shine, they are covered by layers of cloud, and their great brightness is dimmed," and without reading any further, he immediately rolled it up and burned it.' There is no indication where Takakuni recorded the anecdote. It could, of course, have been in a diary and not in a collection of tales. But this is usually taken to be a reference to Uji-dainagon-monogatari. The tale does not occur in Uji-shūi or any related collection.

(c) Zōdan-shū[29] contains a story (concerning a man who, having bought a turtle in order to set it free, finds himself, after death, granted a respite through the intercession of

Jizō, of whom the turtle had been an incarnation; the man in fact doubles his merit by asking Jizō to save, instead of him, a young girl, since she has so much more of life to lose) which is described as being from 'Uji-no-monogatari'. The story appears, with slight differences, in Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki and in Konjaku (17/26). Since the story does not occur in the present Uji-shūi, Nagano[30] believes that the reference to 'Uji-no-monogatari' must mean either Konjaku or the lost Uji-dainagon-monogatari. Katayose,[31] however, thinks that, in view of the reference in Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku to an Uji-shūi in twenty books, some books may have existed which are now lost. Since the present Uji-shūi has so many tales in common with Konjaku, the same would surely have been true of the lost books. Therefore this story may have been in one of these presumed lost books. Thus 'Uji-no-monogatari' would seem to be a reference to some form of Uji-shūi (on one manuscript of which this title actually appears).

Whatever the truth of this speculation, it is certainly worth noting that this story in Konjaku follows two Jizō stories of a similar kind which occur also in Uji-shūi. These two stories are almost the only cases in which consecutive stories in Konjaku are also consecutive in Uji-shūi.

The above list, which shows that no single extant work

includes all the tales said to be from Uji-dainagon-monogatari, is made up of references discovered by a number of scholars since the first investigation of the position of Uji-shūi and Konjaku by Satō Seijitsu. Satō, knowing only of the Hōbutsu-shū passage and the references in Yakumo-mi-shō and Kokon-chomon-jū to a collection of tales by Takakuni,[32] was not aware of the evidence contradicting his identification (or, strictly speaking, his justification of the traditional identification) of Konjaku with Uji-dainagon-monogatari. However, it is not only the discovery of Uji-dainagon-monogatari stories not found in Konjaku which discredited Satō's views. In fact, it would be true to say that almost all of his contentions about Konjaku have been proved wrong, or discarded for lack of evidence.

According to Satō,[33] who at the outset takes the standpoint that the Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku reference to an Uji-shūi in twenty books by Takakuni can be identified with Konjaku, and that another name for the same work is Uji-dainagon-monogatari, the Uji-shūi preface is full of wrong statements and does not relate to the work to which it is attached. The present Uji-shūi is clearly not a supplement to Konjaku, it contains over thirty stories set in a period later than Takakuni and it is shown by its language to be by a different and later author (though obviously based on Konjaku), so that it is not

simply the work of Takakuni with certain added stories. Therefore the work to which this preface relates must be the expanded version of Uji-dainagon-monogatari and must also be the Uji-shūi mentioned in Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku as by Takakuni (though the reference to twenty books must be a mistake for thirty). Notwithstanding the words of this preface, Konjaku (= Uji-shūi) does not contain any reference to a time later than that of Takakuni. Nor was it compiled in the manner described, since it is known to have literary sources. The legend probably originated through a confusion of Takakuni with Fujiwara Tadabumi, known as Uji no mimbukyō, who is said in Gōdan-shō to have spent the summer in retreat at Uji.

The latter point has long been dismissed as gratuitous speculation. There is in any case ample evidence associating Takakuni with Uji; he was after all known as Uji-dainagon. In addition, there has been wide agreement with Sakai's view[34] that there is no reason to think of the Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku entry as referring to anything other than some form of the present Uji-shūi, given the great variation in the number of books into which the extant texts are divided. But the most serious flaw in Satō's arguments, besides his assumption that references to Uji-dainagon-monogatari in other works necessarily indicate Konjaku, is the statement that Konjaku contains no stories of a date later than 1077, when Takakuni died. Fuji-

oka,[35] though in general a supporter of Satō's ideas, pointed out in 1903 that the table of contents of book 25 contains a title (though the story, No.14, is not extant) mentioning the campaigns of Minamoto Yoshiie against Kiyowara Takehira (the war known as Go-sannen-no-eki), which took place in 1086. Since this discovery, many other stories have been identified as clearly having been written after Takakuni's death. (Three of these, it will be noticed, appear also in Uji-shūi.) For instance, Wada Hidematsu[36] showed that the events described in 24/56 (US 93) could not be dated before 1077; the wording of the opening of the story suggests that it was written after Tameie had ceased to be Governor of Harima, but he is mention- in contemporary records as having been Governor in 1077, having been re-appointed in that same year and being still Governor in 1081. Sakai quotes further cases.[37] He considers that the story of Yoritoki, 31/11 (US 187), could not have been written until about ten years after 1077, because of the manner of its reference to Munetō, Yoritoki's son. Also later than the death of Takakuni, he thinks, are the story of Yorinobu, 25/9, which contains a reference (not found, it should be noted, in the Uji-shūi parallel to this story, 128); to his descendants (sons and grandsons) as 'still prospering and serving the Throne'; that of Taira Koremochi, 25/5, because of a similar reference to the descendants of his son

Shigesada; and that of Yoriyoshi, 25/13, because of its reference to Yoshitsuna, his second son and younger brother of Yoshiie. Two other examples, quoted by Yamada Hideo[38] (though not as his own discoveries), are the story of Morifusa, 24/57, said to date probably from the early period of his appointment as kurōdo, 'archivist', i.e. not before 1086, and that of Minamoto Akiie, described in 29/27 as Governor of Higo but also similarly described ('Higo Akiie') in the diary of Fujiwara Tametaka, under the date 1106.

In addition to investigations of the above kind, many efforts have been made to establish the date of composition of Konjaku by the study of stories with parallels in other works roughly contemporary with it, e.g. Ōkagami. The most important contribution based on the study of parallels has been that of Katayose.[39] Having found a relationship between five stories in book 7 and a Chinese work entitled Hung-tsan-fa-hua-chuan, he discovered further that a colophon to the oldest known manuscript of this work suggests that the work was brought to Japan for the first time in 1120. On the basis of this theory, the present accepted view is that Konjaku dates from not long after 1120.

It is evident, therefore, that Konjaku cannot all have been written by Takakuni. But did he write any of it? In other words, could Konjaku consist of Takakuni's Uji-dainagon-

monogatari plus some later interpolations? If so, some explanation must be found for the mention in other works of Uji-dainagon-monogatari stories which do not appear in Konjaku (Nagano's answer to this point is that they may have been in sections now lost)[40]. On the other hand, is the relationship of Konjaku with Uji-dainagon-monogatari only that, when it was compiled, sometime after Takakuni's death, the latter's work was used as one, though an important one, of its sources?

Let us look first at certain aspects of Konjaku which have been taken as evidence supporting the theory of Takakuni's authorship. Satō,[41] for instance, picks out two phrases which seem to suggest that the people to whom they refer (who were contemporaries of Takakuni) were living at the time when the stories in which they occur were written. Thus in 23/15 it is said of Tachibana Norimitsu that he was the father of tadaima aru Suruga-no-zenji Suemichi, 'the former Governor of Suruga, Suemichi, who is alive at the present time', and another story in the same book, 23/21, has a similar reference to the grandson of a certain wrestler as kono aru Tsunenori. Sakai[42] pours scorn on the idea that such references can be of value in dating the work, pointing out that the father of the man described as kono aru Tsunenori is similarly described (tadaima aru hote Tamemura) in 23/25, while Suemichi, as Satō himself admits, is in 23/16, where he is the main character,

spoken of in the past tense. Sakai argues that, just as Satō points to the phrase konogoro aru[43], found at the beginning of US 118 and 180, as taken over from Konjaku, so also the above two and a number of similar phrases elsewhere in Konjaku should be regarded as taken over bodily from its sources.

Sakai's dismissal of Satō here is perhaps a little cavalier. A much more reasoned appraisal of these 'contemporary' references has been made recently by Nakano Takeshi[44], in relation to the ideas of Nagano Jōichi (who numbers in this 'contemporary' category many more stories than Satō). Nagano has long been an ardent supporter of Takakuni as a candidate for the authorship of Konjaku, though he acknowledges, of course, that it must contain later interpolations. Unlike earlier advocates of Takakuni who, largely because of the legend about his old age at Uji, considered Konjaku to have been written in the latter part of his life, Nagano claims[45] that some of its stories (23/25, 24/18 and 24/21) seem to have been written earlier in Takakuni's lifetime. Nakano examines a number of stories said to contain references, or to describe characters in ways, which suggest that the stories could, so far as their date is concerned, have been written by Takakuni. Nakano's arguments, which seem very reasonable, are too detailed for recapitulation here, but his conclusion, from a re-examination of thirteen stories considered by Nagano as falling

within the period when Takakuni could have written them, is that in each case Nagano is not strict enough in his assessment of the dates. According to Nakano, six of the stories are too early and the remaining seven too late to be regarded as contemporary with Takakuni. Nakano does not, like Sakai, question the validity of dating such stories. But he feels that they were written at too widely different periods to have been the work of any one man.

He reaches roughly the same conclusion in the second section of the article in question, where he examines a number of stories in which the -ki past ending (or its attributive form -shi) is used in the narrative, as opposed to dialogue. He first summarizes a discussion by Sakurai Mitsuaki[46] of the differences between the past forms in -ki and -keri. The latter, according to Sakurai, indicates that the facts related were not experienced by the writer in person. The use of the -ki form, however, shows some variation. In dialogue, it is used mainly when the speaker is recalling his own experience, and when used of things outside his experience is limited to questions. In narrative, it is mainly used of things within the writer's personal experience, and though it can be used of things outside his experience, its use in this way is associated particularly with the language of translations from Chinese. Sakurai's general conclusions are thus that the

usage of these two suffixes varies as between pure Japanese and the language used in translating from Chinese. In the translated style, they are sometimés used in similar ways. But in pure Japanese style, they seem to be directly opposed, -ki implying a recollection of personal experience and -keri being more indirect.

This distinction can be of some significance in Konjaku stories. Although the overwhelming majority of its stories begin with the formula Ima wa mukashi...arikeri, some use, instead of arikeri, the form ariki, which might suggest that the characters thus referred to either were personally known to the writer or at least lived during his lifetime, so that his recollection of them and their activities would be more direct.

The relation of Sakurai's work to Konjaku lies in the fact that, in order to show the validity of his theory about the -ki past ending, he has examined the Konjaku (Japanese) stories in which it is used in the narrative and constructed a table showing the dates of people so mentioned.[47] He sees justification for his interpretation of -ki in the fact that, according to his table, the stories could all have been written by one man. Nakano, however, disagrees with Sakurai, and himself constructs a table on the basis of a stricter examination of possible dates. The result of this is that the same

stories are distributed over a rather longer period of time, too long, in fact, for them all to be the work of one man.

Nakano's interpretation of his results is that they show Konjaku to have incorporated a number of stories written at different times. (He does not believe that differences in the date of composition of stories means that some were interpolated in an existing text.) The work of compilation may have been directed or performed by one man, possibly one of the several authors by whom the stories were written. Like Kawaguchi, who had already put forward the idea of multiple authorship of Konjaku,[48] he believes that the project had a definite association with the priesthood.

Though this idea of multiple authorship now has wide currency, there are still scholars who see Konjaku as the work of one man. A notable example is Imano, whose studies of Konjaku are recognized to be of outstanding value. His main contribution[49] has been to draw attention to mistakes in the work which are of great significance for the study of the authorship, and provide convincing evidence against Takakuni as a candidate. Imano's rejection of Takakuni is, of course, in itself not new. What is new is that he appears to have invalidated the premises on which previous conjectures as to the identity of the author have been based, e.g. the view of Sakai and Katayose[50] that he must have been of noble origin.

Imano shows very convincingly that Konjaku makes egregious mistakes which no aristocrat, brought up to the Court culture of the time, could possibly have made.

The present situation in Konjaku studies is thus that while much progress has been made in the study of certain aspects of the work, there still remains a wide divergence of opinion as to the interpretation of the facts which have been established. Many writers think that there must have been some priestly connection with the work. But was it compiled by one person, or by several? In addition, what was its purpose? Here the opinions of scholars vary greatly according to their own particular interests. Imano's view[51] that the work may have had no specific purpose is shared by Nishio,[52] but in other respects their standpoint is different, for the particular interest of Nishio, as of Masuda, lies in the investigation of the way in which popular tales are given literary form. Nagano is also interested in the work as literature, but his enthusiasm is directed towards the investigation of its qualities as creative art, as an early example of the craft of short-story writing. He therefore deplores the tendency of Sakai and Katayose to see it primarily as a Buddhist work.[53] Kawaguchi, interested in the transmission of popular Buddhist tales, sees it[54] as an attempt to create a Japanese counterpart of the monumental Fa-yüan-chu-lin.

A particularly interesting development in recent Konjaku studies is a new theory, put forward by Nagai Yoshinori in a work on Buddhist preaching,[55] which in a sense unites the idea that Takakuni was directly concerned in the writing of Konjaku with newer views of multiple priestly authorship. Nagai's theory arises out of his study of a newly-discovered manuscript of a work by Takakuni which was known to have existed but was thought to have been lost. This is Anyō-shū, in ten books, a learned compilation of Anyō Jōdo texts. Nagai's suggestion is that Konjaku was a collection of stories designed to put into concrete and practical form the teachings of the other work. He thinks that this may have been compiled by a group of priests around Takakuni, and that further material continued to be added after Takakuni's death. Though Kawaguchi does not see this theory as necessitating any real change in his own views, he nevertheless describes it in very favourable terms and even goes so far as to say that it may be valid as regards some original form of Konjaku.

If our account of studies of the Uji-shūi-Konjaku group of works has so far been concerned almost entirely with investigations of Konjaku alone, that is simply because Konjaku has attracted most attention. However, we must now consider Japanese views (since Satō) of its relationship with Uji-shūi.

For those[56] who take the view that Konjaku is an enlargement

of or incorporates the original Uji-dainagon-monogatari by Takakuni, it follows, since there are good grounds for think- that Uji-shūi has some relationship with Takakuni's work, that the relationship between Konjaku and Uji-shūi is direct, i.e. that Uji-shūi was based on Konjaku. This, however, does not take account of the differences between them. According to Nomura,[57] these differences, and indeed the variation in the degree of difference, can be considered to result entirely from the whims of the compiler(s) on different occasions. But is such an explanation adequate for differences which Nomura himself admits are considerable? As previous chapters have shown, they are not only differences in small details of wording, for in places the order of whole sentences is reversed. More important, there are differences of substance, again not only in small details; each of the two works occasionally has (even in otherwise closely parallel stories) sentences not found in the other.

Let us, then, consider the relationship in the light of the now customary view of Konjaku, i.e. that it is not simply an enlargement of Uji-dainagon-monogatari but a new work in the compilation of which Takakuni's work must have been an important source. Since, as we have said, Uji-shūi must be considered to be directly related to Uji-dainagon-monogatari, the relationship with Konjaku becomes indirect, that is to say,

the two works have a common source. Not only does such a relationship make more understandable the existence in Uji-shūi of Uji-dainagon-monogatari stories which are not in Konjaku, but it provides a much more plausible explanation of the differences between the collections than mere caprice (though it must be admitted that some differences, e.g. between US 16 and KM 17/1 and between US 152 and KM 10/9 are too great to be accounted for in this way). This, then, is now the almost universally accepted view of the relationship between the two works. Although a similar theory was originally proposed as early as 1908 by Kikuchi Hisakichi,[58] it appears to have attracted little attention, and it was only after the work of Sakai[59] that the present view began to gain currency.

With the discovery of two hitherto unknown collections, Uchigiki and Kohon, published in 1927 and 1955 respectively, the problems of the Uji-shūi-Konjaku relationship took on further dimensions. Though both newly-discovered works have more stories in common with Konjaku than with Uji-shūi, the degree of closeness seems greater in the latter. So far as Uchigiki is concerned, opinion has tended to reject the idea of any direct relationship with Konjaku, while considering a direct relationship with Uji-shūi at least more possible. Doubt is cast on the latter possibility, however, by such stories as that of the turtles (US 164), in which the wording

of Uji-shūi in places resembles that of Konjaku but in other places that of Uchigiki, and in addition has some phrases not found in either. It seems very unlikely that any of these three versions is based directly on a Chinese text, though Nakajima suggests that they may be based on some existing translation. Nevertheless, they could be from oral tradition. Nakajima does not suggest that any of them are direct recordings of popular oral tradition, but thinks that all three must derive from different written texts.[60] Kunisaki, however, regards[61] the Uchigiki and Uji-shūi versions, which differ slightly but in ways which seem to him to be not deliberate and purposeful, as separate direct recordings of oral tradition. Konjaku, on the other hand, he thinks[62] must be from a written text because its policy of standardizing wording, involving additions to fill out and make the narrative more logical, would be difficult to carry out direct from oral tradition. But it too must ultimately go back to an oral source.

Like Uchigiki, Kohon too is not thought to have any direct relationship with Konjaku. As regards its relationship with Uji-shūi, the virtual identity of some of the stories in the two works might be thought to suggest, more strongly than do any other comparisons of stories in the works of this group, that it is direct. In the case of some stories, Watanabe and

Nishio actually treat it as such, though they do not make it clear how the degree of similarity can vary so much. Kunisaki, on the other hand, maintains that the particular combination of similarities and differences between Uji-shūi and Kohon could not have resulted from a direct relationship. It is instructive to compare his approach, with its great stress on the factor of oral transmission, with that of Kawaguchi, who, though believing the relationship between these two works to be indirect, approaches the problem from the more accustomed angle of literary borrowing (though in other respects he does not neglect the factor of oral tradition). Kawaguchi's views on this whole complex of works will provide a suitable survey with which to conclude this account of Japanese work.

Two aspects of the work of Kunisaki must be considered. The first is his discussion of the relationship between Konjaku, Uji-shūi and Kohon. It has already been mentioned that, since Konjaku adapts the wording of tales to accord with its standard narrative technique, whereas Uji-shūi does not, Kunisaki believes the tales in the latter to be in an earlier form, closer to oral tradition than the same tales in Konjaku. He therefore makes the stimulating but highly novel suggestion[63] that the possibility should be considered whether some early form of Uji-shūi might have been a source for Konjaku. He decides that a direct relationship is ruled out, just as between Uji-

shūi and Kohon, by the nature of the differences that exist. One can say no more than that some collection with stories very close in wording to Uji-shūi (or Kohon) may have existed, and may have been a source for Konjaku. (It is impossible to say whether there existed some collection containing only the stories which Uji-shūi or Kohon have in common with Konjaku.) To this hypothetical source of Konjaku, he gives the name 'Pre-Konjaku'.[64] But he also says[65] that the hypothetical early form of Uji-shūi, which he calls 'Original Uji-shūi', cannot have been very dissimilar to the form of the same stories in the present Uji-shūi, and thus must have differed from that of 'Pre-Konjaku'. Therefore if Konjaku was based on Uji-dainagon-monogatari, Uji-shūi was not; conversely, if Uji-shūi was based on Uji-dainagon-monogatari, Konjaku was not.[66] The differences between the parallel stories in Uji-shūi and Konjaku, he thinks, must reflect differences which had arisen before the stories were recorded from oral sources.

The second aspect of Kunisaki's work is his treatment of the relationship between Uji-shūi and Kohon. He states[67] three objections to the idea that it can be direct:- (a) Why, if one borrowed from the other, were only certain stories taken, when neither collection arranges its material in distinct categories? (b) How is it that wide differences of plot and wording can occur, with only the general theme of a story similar?

(c) Though most differences of wording are minor and negligible, some are more substantial. How did these arise, and how is it that each collection has phrases (in parallel stories) not found in the other? He concludes that Uji-shūi, or the hypothetical early form of it, cannot be considered a source for Kohon, and vice versa. Thus the common stories must be independent recordings of oral tradition, at different times and places.[68] However, he thinks it less likely that the hypothetical 'Original Uji-shūi' existed than the 'Pre-Konjaku'. The situation must therefore be, he says, that stories already in Konjaku and Kohon continued to circulate as oral tales and were retold in Uji-shūi later.

Kawaguchi, while describing[69] book 2 of Kohon as consisting of popular legends, does not suggest that they are direct recordings by Kohon from oral sources. Indeed, his conception of the development of Kohon and Uji-shūi places them at some remove from such direct recordings; in his opinion,[70] this whole complex of works stems from the lost Uji-dainagon-monogatari. This he believes to have been compiled by Takakuni largely from oral sources, not for any didactic purpose but as interesting reading; judging from the reference in Chūgai-shō to 'the tales of the Great Counsellor' (generally thought to be Uji-dainagon-monogatari) which the young Tadazane heard read by a lady-in-waiting, Takakuni's work was evidently

simple enough in style and content to appeal to women. With this collection, which Kawaguchi thinks contained secular and Buddhist but no foreign stories,[77] as a basis, but with other stories, including some from India and China, added from both oral and literary sources, a group of Tendai priests put together over a period of some years, though about the year 1120, the original Konjaku. The hiragana-majiri script of the earlier work was replaced by the semmyō style of script, using katakana, such as is found in early Konjaku manuscripts and in Uchigiki. At about the same period, some of the tales which had continued to circulate orally were set down in Uchigiki, as notes to be used in telling the tales (again orally), but part of this compilation was later lost. Also about the same time another compilation was made, drawing on, and preserving the hiragana and native Japanese style of, Uji-dainagon-monogatari, but adding stories from oral and other literary sources, including works later than Uji-dainagon-monogatari, such as Ōkagami, Eiga-monogatari and Shumpi-shō. This (hypothetical) compilation may have been such as would, like Takakuni's work, appeal even to women. Though not identical with Uji-dainagon-monogatari, it would not be surprising if it were called by the same name. It is out of such a collection that Kohon and Uji-shūi may have arisen. Indeed, Kawaguchi contends that new compilations were constantly being made, and

that collections were constantly changing, being added to or re-organized. It may be from later works of this kind that the fragments of Konjaku known as the Tsugaru text (one story) and the beppon or variant text of book 20 (two stories) are derived. One such later compilation, with a basis of stories derived from Uji-dainagon-monogatari but with many others added, was probably the Uji-shūi in twenty books mentioned in Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku. Furthermore, Kohon, whose title appears to have been lost by the Kamakura period, may have continued to be transmitted in various changed or re-organized forms, and it may be that after the original Uji-dainagon-monogatari had been lost, at some time between the end of the thirteenth century and 1367 (the date of Kakai-shō), some late and considerably developed manuscript of Kohon was mistakenly called Uji-dainagon-monogatari, and also, since it contained stories parallel with Eiga-monogatari, became known as Yotsugi-monogatari or Koyotsugi.

Chapter Seven

UJI-SHŪI-MONOGATARI - V

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON ITS DATE,

STRUCTURE AND POSITION

Of the two approaches outlined above, it is with that of Kawaguchi that I find myself more in sympathy. I cannot myself agree with the view that the complicated situation described in Chapter 4 is entirely the result of differences in oral tradition. In the first place, it seems to me unlikely that tales could be preserved for long with the original wording virtually unchanged if they were handed down among the people, and not told by specialists in story-telling.[1] In particular, I find it incredible that the wording of tales recorded about 1130 (according to the usual view of the date of Kohon) could have been preserved almost identically some eighty-five years later (again according to the usual dating of Uji-shūi). They are after all not tales which seem in any way special, or of a kind to require the wording to be sacrosanct. It has been suggested by Kunisaki[2] that some Uji-shūi tales may have been written down from the narration of someone

who had memorized them, but not only does this remain a vague suggestion, with no discussion of who might have done such a thing, or why, but Kunisaki himself says that it cannot explain a situation such as that of US 192 and KSS 61, where the beginnings and endings of the two stories are very close, but considerable variation is found in the middle sections.

The importance of the oral element in the ultimate origin of many of the tales in these collections (e.g. the 'ex-jātaka' tales) is undeniable. In the same way, wide differences such as that between US 108 and KSS 54 (the Tsuruga Kannon story) can only reflect different traditions, and not simply textual variants. But why should it be necessary to say therefore that all the stories in common between the two works must also represent different traditions, despite the remarkable similarities between them? (I hope to show that it is perfectly possible for the Uji-shūi versions of stories found also in Kohon to have been written at different times or by different people.) It seems to me that the factor of oral transmission is in danger of being over-emphasized just as literary borrowing was earlier. In my opinion, therefore, the interrelationship of all these works must be thought to be basically through written texts.[3]

Some slight indication that Kohon and Konjaku must be related to Uji-shūi at least partly through books is found in

certain features of their arrangement. To take Kohon first, is it likely that there could have been any similarity in the order of stories in this work and Uji-shūi if either had been compiled directly from oral tradition alone? It is true that the order is not exactly the same. In particular, the order of many of the Kohon parallels in the second half of Uji-shūi bears no relation to their position in Kohon. But there are groups of stories in which some similarity of arrangement is undeniable.

There is almost no such similarity in the case of Konjaku. In only one case are consecutive stories in Uji-shūi also consecutive in Konjaku (US 44-5, KM 17/24-5). In two other cases (US 176-7 and 196-7), the stories are close together in Konjaku (23/20 and 22, 10/11 and 15). US 164 and 167 are also fairly close together in Konjaku (9/13 and 18). But in four cases, consecutive stories in Uji-shūi (86-7, 91-2, 137-8 and 172-3) are widely separated in Konjaku. The cases in which stories consecutive in Konjaku are widely separated in Uji-shūi are far too numerous to mention. The inference is that if the two works had a common source, this is unlikely to have been arranged in such strictly classified groups as Konjaku, since it is difficult to see why Uji-shūi should disturb that arrangement.

On the other hand, I have found in Konjaku a few small

points in the arrangement of stories which I believe could suggest, however remotely, some connection with the arrangement of Uji-shūi. The stories of Suemichi and Akihira (US 27 and 29), for instance, are in Konjaku placed in different books (23/16 and 26/4). Yet there is a definite link between the two versions of these two stories in that in both collections, both stories begin with a verb in the -ki past form. (ariki). Now in Konjaku, both stories are adjacent to items connected in some way with the province of Mino. The Suemichi story is followed by one about a strong woman known as the 'Vixen of Mino', who is a menace to other people where she lives because she robs merchants; she is finally whipped into submission by another strong woman of Mino. (Though the connection is very slight, it might be mentioned that US 28, following the Suemichi story, is also about a robber.) The Akihira story in Konjaku is preceded by a tale of a flood in Mino which kills everyone but the members of one family. This connection within Konjaku through the setting of the two stories in Mino is in itself interesting, but it is surely remarkable also that the story following the Akihira item in Uji-shūi is the Chinese tale of the old woman who every day observes a stūpa to see if there is blood on it, and when tricked, gets her family away in time to avoid the flood which ensues when the mountain on which the stūpa is situated

crumbles away. The resemblance in theme with the Konjaku flood story is not exact, admittedly; there, though the family is at first saved, all but one child are later burned to death, and the child is eventually saved from the flood by Kannon. But it is worthy of note that the theme of this story is described by Nagano as 'just such as might be found in a Chinese tale.'[4]

Less striking are two other points. The first concerns KM 24/29, which relates how, when Fujiwara Narinobu (or Tadanobu), at the command of Lord Uji, is selecting Chinese poems to be written on a screen, Fujiwara Yoshitada unjustly criticizes some of the poems selected. This story, it should be noted, is close to that (24/32) which contains the poem about the Palace-cleaners and the fallen flowers, and which is said to be in Uji-dainagon-monogatari. Is it coincidence that in Uji-shūi, a story about Lord Uji (9) is followed by one about an unjust criticism of a Japanese poem? The other point is that the story of the Tsuruga girl (US 108) is close to an item (111) concerning a district governor who is ordered to compose a poem in order to escape punishment for his misdeeds. Book 16 of Konjaku, which contains (16/7) a fairly close parallel to the Tsuruga story, also contains (16/18) a tale of a district governor who is made to compose a poem, this time to save his wife's virtue (he is enabled to do so by the aid of

Kannon).

While disagreeing with some of Kunisaki's views, I find his suggestion that the form of Uji-shūi tales might be earlier than the Konjaku form very stimulating. In my opinion, Japanese discussions of the position of Uji-shūi in relation to Konjaku, Kohon and other works have hitherto been based on a too readily accepted view of Uji-shūi itself. I propose therefore to examine certain aspects of the work more closely.

Let us look first at the one story (159) which is usually regarded as a late interpolation (though Nomura sees it only as extending the period in which the work as a whole may have been compiled), on account of its use of the name Go-Toba-in, 'the retired Emperor Go-Toba'. There is one distinctive feature of this story which, if it has been noticed, has certainly attracted no comment, that is, the occurrence in several places of the verb haberi. While this verb is by no means uncommon in Uji-shūi, its use is confined almost exclusively to dialogue. But here, in the very story which is already considered a special case on other grounds, haberi is used in narrative passages, both as a substitute for ari, as in the opening sentence, 'Go-Toba-in no on-toki, Minase-dono ni, ... karakasa hodo no mono no, hikarite mi-dō e tobi-iru koto haberikeri, and as a verb-suffix, e.g. yōjin shi-haberikeredomo.

This is quite different from the general usage of Uji-shūi. A few honorific terms are used in narrative sections, of the actions of such exalted figures as Gods, Emperors, Civil Dictators or very venerable priests. Also, in such cases the narrator sometimes shows deference to the exalted personage by using mōsu, as in the phrase near the end of 161 Shijō no dainagon to mōsu wa, makoto yaran. But it is not usual for the narrator to show deference to the reader, as is the case with this use of haberi (although in three stories the closing formula, meaning '...so the story has been handed down', contains the word mōsu [91, 172 and 187]).

The Go-Toba story is not the only one in which a narrative haberi is found in Uji-shūi. The other examples are stories 110, 119, 123, 167-8, 182 and 187, none of which has ever been considered a special case, in the same sense as 159. It is difficult to see any particular reason for the distinctive use of haberi in these eight stories. There are in fact three similar cases in Kohon (6, 30 and 53), but none at all in Konjaku. According to Sakurai, who has made a full study of the uses of sōrō and haberi in Konjaku[5], both words occur frequently, but only sōrō appears in narrative passages, and then only in the sense of 'attend, serve'. On the other hand, after examining a number of other tale-collections, I have found many examples of haberi in narrative or at least non-

dialogue passages -- for instance, in (though not necessarily throughout) Hōbutsu-shū, Senjū-shō, Kankyo-no-tomo and Kokon-chomon-jū. These date from a period of about eighty years from the close of the Heian period. An example of a narrative haberi is also found in the Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki story quoted by Haga[6] as a parallel to KM 17/1 (which is a remote parallel to US 16). It will be recalled that this Reigen-ki, in its present form, besides being thought to contain some late interpolations, derives from a Muromachi manuscript in which the original Chinese is translated into Japanese. In addition, I have found one isolated example in the Hasedera-reigen-ki story quoted by Haga[7] as a parallel to KM 16/19 (US 179). It should also be remembered that haberi is used frequently in non-dialogue passages in Tsurezure-gusa.

One must presume that in all these cases the narrator is showing deference to his reader. I have not studied the other collections mentioned above sufficiently to offer any explanation of the fact that some employ this haberi only intermittently. But its occurrence in Uji-shūi in a story which there is already reason to think an interpolation must strongly suggest that the other Uji-shūi stories in which it appears are also interpolations. In view of the fact that one of them is the Go-Toba story, that they are few in number and also that this use of haberi seems common after the begin-

ning of the Kamakura period, there is a strong presumption that all these stories are late additions to Uji-shūi. Four of the stories with this narrative haberi occur in pairs of stories obviously linked by their subject-matter. Two of them are found together (167-8), but it is noteworthy that in the other cases, it is in the second story of the pair that haberi appears (110,159). It should perhaps be stressed that narrative haberi does not necessarily occur only in stories whose action takes place at a late date, like that of Go-Toba. 182 is set in the twelfth century and 187 in the eleventh. Five are of indeterminate date, though one of these (167) is a Chinese story, found also in Ming-pao-chi.

The next feature of Uji-shūi deserving notice is the great variation in the formulas with which its stories open and close. In this it is unique among the group of collections to which it belongs. All Konjaku and Kohon stories use the introductory formula ima wa mukashi, while in Uchigiki, all but a few stories having no introductory formula begin mukashi. Again, Konjaku invariably employs the closing formula to (or kaku) nan kataritsutaetaru to ya. In Uji-shūi, on the other hand, eighty-three stories begin ima wa mukashi, sixty-five kore mo ima wa mukashi, thirty-three mukashi and three kore mo mukashi[8] (for the distribution of these, see Table 6, pp.377-378), while there is no uniformity in the

endings, a variety of formulas, and sometimes no formula at all, being employed. One point to be noted at once is that not all stories beginning kore mo ima wa mukashi necessarily follow stories beginning ima wa mukashi (e.g. 4, 73, 129 and 135). Nakajima has pointed out[9] that not all the Uji-shūi stories parallel with Konjaku begin ima wa mukashi. Nomura has drawn attention[10] to the fact that in some books of the 15-book text, the initial story begins with a kore mo formula (in fact, 5/1, 6/1 and 8/1 have kore mo ima wa mukashi, 7/1 has kore mo mukashi). Also Watanabe and Nishio[11] hazard a guess that the blocks of stories beginning with the same formula may well have been written at the same time. But so far as I know, no attempt has ever been made to examine the nature or origin or date of stories in relation to the formulas which they use. The results of my own researches in this matter are not without interest.

To begin with, there seems to be no special correlation between the introductory and concluding formulas in Uji-shūi. Each of the commonest endings, to ka, to zo and to nan, appears with each of the introductory formulas, except that to nan is not found with kore mo mukashi, which, however, occurs only three times. Nor does there seem to be any correlation between the introductory formula and the use of haberi in the narrative. Of the stories cited in the latter connec-

tion, the Go-Toba story (159) has no formula, one (110) begins mukashi, five (119, 167-8, 187 all stories found in Konjaku , and also 123) begin ima wa mukashi and one (182) begins kore mo ima wa mukashi. Two stories of the fairy-tale type (3, 92) begin kore mo mukashi (92 following a mukashi story of a somewhat similar type), but another (48) begins ima wa mukashi. In both places where stories of Seimei appear, they begin with mukashi (26, 126; 127, also a story of Seimei, begins with no formula, but it should be remembered that this and 126 are normally regarded as together forming one item, 11/3 in the 15-book text). Again, in pairs of stories with similar themes, or features which suggest that their juxtaposition is deliberate, it is usual for both to have the same (5-6, 137-8, 167-8) or virtually the same (91-2)[12] formula, but this is not always so (52-3, 109-110, 176-7).

If we now investigate the possibility of a correlation between the use of certain formulas and the correspondence of stories with those in other works, the rather striking fact emerges that, of the fourteen Uji-shūi stories with the closest parallels in Kojidan (which uses no formulas), all except one begin kore mo ima wa mukashi; the exception is 60, which has ima wa mukashi. Three of the five B category parallels begin kore mo ima wa mukashi, the remaining two (1, 184) having ima wa mukashi, though in some texts 184 also has kore mo ima wa

mukashi. Of the remoter parallels with Kojidan, only one (194) has kore mo ima wa mukashi; five (35, 97, 151, 173, 193) begin ima wa mukashi, one (144) has mukashi and one (7) has no formula.

Turning to Kohon, which uses ima wa mukashi throughout, we find that all the close parallels in Uji-shūi begin ima wa mukashi, except one (191) which has kore mo ima wa mukashi. Strikingly, the only other variations are in 95, kore mo ima wa mukashi, and 108, which has no formula. In the first of these, the Uji-shūi story corresponds exactly with Kohon, but the latter has an additional section not in Uji-shūi. The second is the one story in which the two works differ widely.

The case of Uchigiki, which has mostly mukashi but otherwise no formulas, is less clear-cut. In fact, all of the Uji-shūi parallels begin with mukashi except two whose Uchigiki versions are so brief as scarcely to merit consideration. Of these two, one (84) begins in Uji-shūi with ima wa mukashi, but the other (139), as in Uchigiki, has no formula. Of the four stories which have mukashi in both works, three are moderately close parallels. However, the only really close parallel begins in Uji-shūi with ima wa mukashi. But this story (195) has a not too remote parallel in Konjaku. Of two other stories using ima wa mukashi, one (171) is fairly close to Uchigiki, but the other (20) rather less so.

As we have seen, parallels with Konjaku are very numerous, and of these approximately three-quarters are relatively close. Their introductory formulas, however, are not all alike. Only about one half begin ima wa mukashi. A few (54, 56, 58, 108) begin directly, with no formula, while mukashi and kore mo ima wa mukashi stories are relatively evenly divided (numbering sixteen and ten respectively). In the stories in the C category, where the Uji-shūi item forms only part of a longer Konjaku item, each type of beginning is represented except kore mo ima wa mukashi (and kore mo mukashi). Of the less close or very remotely parallel stories, it should be noted that the majority have ima wa mukashi.

What of the more than fifty stories for which no parallels are known, other than a few in Chinese works? Here we find that over half begin kore mo ima wa mukashi, almost twice the number that begin ima wa mukashi.

Finally, if we look at the introductory formulas in Uji-shūi stories concerning actual historical figures in Japan or whose action can be dated with reasonable certainty, further striking facts emerge. First, an overwhelming majority of the stories of a period earlier than, say, 1070 begin either ima wa mukashi or mukashi, and of those which begin kore mo ima wa mukashi, all but a mere handful have close or relatively close parallels in Kojidan. Second, the stories with an

identifiably twelfth-century setting all begin kore mo ima wa mukashi except one (72), which in the Watanabe and Nishio edition has kore mo mukashi (though in four manuscripts, it too begins kore mo ima wa mukashi, and this reading is adopted both in the Kokushi-taikei and the Nomura editions). Only one of these twelfth-century stories is from Kojidan, though it is perhaps significant that another appears in the midst of a block of Kojidan stories. Nine stories (three of them close Kojidan parallels) whose events may for various reasons be placed either in the early twelfth century or in the late eleventh (though almost certainly not before 1070) all begin kore mo ima wa mukashi. Of a few other stories, however, whose events could have taken place after 1070 but may be slightly earlier, only some have kore mo ima wa mukashi, several beginning with ima wa mukashi; while three late eleventh-century stories which definitely date from after 1070 also begin ima wa mukashi.

What is the explanation of this apparent association of kore mo ima wa mukashi with 'late' stories (including stories of earlier times taken from the late work Kojidan)? Could it be taken as evidence of more than one stratum in the structure of Uji-shūi? It is perhaps difficult to see why the writer(s) should have felt any need to indicate his (their) additions in this way. Indeed, it may be asked whether I am not giving

this phrase more importance than it deserves. Is it not simply a natural link from one story to the next, totally unrelated to any other factor? If this is so, one must ask why the collection does not simply begin ima wa mukashi and continue thenceforth with kore mo ima wa mukashi. Furthermore, how does it come about that this same link follows not only ima wa mukashi but also mukashi (134-5) and even a story with no formula at all(8-9)? In addition, if links are used, why do blocks of ima wa mukashi stories occur without any link (e.g. 16-23, 34-5, 40-43, 47-52 etc.)? The same applies to blocks of mukashi stories (e.g. 24-33, 104-7, 141-5). To suggest that this irregular pattern may indicate participation by more than one author, at different times, cannot explain it fully. But one can only say that, if Uji-shūi is the work of a single compiler, it is an astonishing patchwork.

This is true not only of the relatively minor point of introductory phrases, but of the arrangement of the stories as well. Although these sometimes come in pairs or groups linked by subject-matter, or by some association of ideas, there are some surprising features of distribution. Nomura has pointed out[13] that not only do the two stories of Toshitsuna (46 and 71) not appear together but they both contain the statement that, though originally one of the numerous sons of Fujiwara Yorimichi (Lord Uji), he was adopted by Tachibana

Toshitō. There are many other examples of the same character appearing in widely separated stories, e.g. Koshikibu-no-naishi (35 and 81), Ban Yoshio (4 and 114) and Seimei (26 and 126-7). Of these stories, only 35 is one of a linked pair (though it must be admitted that both stories concerning the High Priest Jie [69 and 139] and two of those concerning Confucius [152 and 197] are placed in groups of associated stories). It is true that in all these cases there is no inconsistency. But the two stories of Mochinaga (72 and 99) both begin by introducing him with full name and rank (e.g. in 72, ...Daizen-no-suke no tayū Tachibana no Mochinaga to iu kurōdo no goi arikeri). 99 differs from 72 only in placing the name Tachibana before Daizen. Again, though there are two stories of the famous Heichū, the first (50) introduces him fully (...Hyōe-no-suke Taira no Sadabumi oba, Heichū to iu), while the second (161) says simply Hyōe-no-suke narikeru hito arikeri, going on to say that he had the nickname Ageo-no-nushi, 'The man with the long capstrings', but at no time giving him any other name. Finally, in two of the three stories of the Assistant High Priest Chūin (80 and 182), his speech is referred to simply by the verb iu, but in the other (2), a quotation of his words is followed by an honorific, notamaitekeri.[14]

Yet another example of the lack of uniformity in Uji-shūi is the variation in the way the stories begin (apart from the

introductory formulas). The most common form is, as in Konjaku, Ima wa mukashi...arikeri, the subject being either a person or a place. At the other extreme are stories which plunge directly into the narrative, e.g. Ima wa mukashi, Morokoshi no Shin-shikō no yo ni, Tenjiku yori sō watareri (195). Some simply identify a person or place, thus ...Kawara-no-in wa Tōru no hidari-no-otodo no ie nari (151). Occasionally ari replaces the arikeri of the commonest formula, especially, it seems, in stories of Chinese or Indian origin, e.g. 91. Not all Chinese or Indian stories have ari, but in those which do, it is in keeping with the neutral verb-form commonly used in them as a historic present. The ari(keri) is sometimes replaced by an honorific, e.g. owashimasu (119) or owashikeri (11). However, the most important variation is the use in the opening sentences of ten stories (27, 29, 109, 110, 128, 166-8, 174, 197) of a verb in the -ki past form (or its attributive counterpart in -shi). In two of these cases (167-8), the verb is haberiki, but there is no special relation between the narrative haberi and -ki, as in 159 we find haberikeri.

It must be admitted that, whereas Uji-shūi is unique in having a great variety of introductory phrases, it is not alone in having variations in its introductory sentences as a whole. Kohon, for instance, is equally varied. Even Konjaku, though the bulk of it has the standard form Ima wa mukashi...arikeri

does in places show the same kind of variation as Uji-shūi, except that it has no narrative haberi; in addition, though in general it is only when the story is not the first in which the main figure has appeared that Konjaku dispenses with an introduction altogether, there are exceptions. It is of some interest to examine parallel stories in Uji-shūi and Konjaku to see whether they correspond in their deviations from normal usage. The first striking thing is that almost without exception (the one case being 143) Uji-shūi stories in the C category, i.e. which in Konjaku form only part of a longer item containing several anecdotes about one person, have no introduction. Secondly, in the Konjaku parallels to two Uji-shūi stories using the nari form of introduction, Konjaku employs the same form. In addition, there are ten stories (54,90, 97, 105,108, 121, 163, 164, 183, 195) in which the lack of introduction in Uji-shūi is paralleled in Konjaku. Finally, in two cases (27, 29) the ariki in Uji-shūi is found also in Konjaku.[15]

On the other hand, the Uji-shūi form is not always the same as that in Konjaku, whether it is a 'direct' beginning (e.g. 18, 102, 111), a nari construction (118) or an honorific verb (e.g. US 179 owashikeri - KM 16/19 arikeri), etc. Most significant of all is the fact that five Uji-shūi stories (128, 167-8, 174, 197) have a -ki past form which is not in

Konjaku, and conversely the Konjaku parallels to US 25 and 185 have -ki where Uji-shūi does not. As we have seen, these -ki past forms may be of significance in the assessment of the dates of composition of stories. However, I note them here only in order to draw attention to this anomalous variation in their use in stories which are otherwise equally close parallels.

All these points, taken together with the variation shown by the examination in Chapter 4 of parallels with Konjaku, Kohon, Uchigiki and Kojidan, reveal that Uji-shūi is anything but homogeneous, whether considered in isolation or in relation to other works. Is it not astonishing, therefore, that scholars have almost with one accord accepted it as the compilation of one man, written more or less at one time? Indeed, they go further, treating Uji-shūi as a new work consisting of newly-written or at least revised versions of earlier stories, some stories newly recorded from oral sources and some borrowed from the recently-composed Kojidan. But why, if there was any conscious revision of earlier stories, was the whole work not made more coherent?

We may take as a typical example of the present attitude to Uji-shūi the following observation by Watanabe and Nishio[16] concerning the preface:- '...One fact, at least, is certain,

that the writer of this preface regarded Uji-shūi as a revised and augmented version of Takakuni's original Uji-dainagon-monogatari.' But is this statement justified by the preface itself? In Japanese, the relevant passage reads: Sono shōhon tsutawarite jijū Toshisada to iishi hito no moto ni zo arikeru. Ika ni narinikeru ni ka. Nochi ni, sakashiki hitobito kaki-iretaru aida, monogatari ōku nareri. Dainagon yori nochi no koto kaki-iretaru hon mo aru ni koso. Saru hodo ni, ima no yo ni, mata monogatari kaki-iretaru idekitareri. Dainagon no monogatari ni moretaru o hiroi-atsume, mata sono nochi no koto nado, kaki-atsumetaru narubeshi. For two reasons, the sentence (beginning saru hodo ni) relating to the appearance of Uji-shūi seems to me to indicate not that it was a new compilation but that it was merely another text of Uji-dainagon-monogatari. The first reason is the use of the word kaki-iretaru, which occurs twice also in the immediately preceding section, clearly meaning 'interpolated (in an existing text)'. Is it not therefore better to take it in the same meaning in this sentence also? Secondly, the use of the attributive form kaki-iretaru as a substantive, with no following noun, seems to suggest a link with the preceding section. Literally translated, the sentence might read '...one into which further stories have been written has appeared.' This second argument has perhaps less force in itself than the

first, since the alternative literal translation '...something into which...has appeared' is possible, but taken together, the two points seem conclusive. Thus I feel that, whatever other grounds there may be for the accepted view of Uji-shūi, Watanabe and Nishio's statement attributes to the preface a meaning which it does not have. It is true that the value of this preface has been called into question, but surely much of the suspicion of it has stemmed from the early gratuitous identification of Uji-dainagon-monogatari with Konjaku. The above passage from Watanabe and Nishio is preceded by the comment '...the statements in this preface, which seems to have been composed over a hundred years after Takakuni's death in 1077, cannot necessarily be considered to have a high degree of reliability...', but we have already seen that they themselves say elsewhere[17] that they believe it to have some real basis in fact.

What, however, is the evidence for this belief that Uji-shūi 'revises' earlier stories? Comparison with Konjaku does not help in this respect, since, as we have seen, it is impossible to regard Uji-shūi as directly based on that work. The evidence of Kohon, whatever the relationship between the two may be, can hardly be thought to support the idea that Uji-shūi revises its sources. Therefore, is not the only basis for this idea the general view of the language of Uji-shūi as

'typical of the Kamakura period'? But this linguistic evidence is highly unreliable.

In the first place, the general style of the work is admitted to be old-fashioned. Nomura, it is true, says that it is not an archaic style, and cites[18] many 'words of the time' to show its colloquial flavour. (Watanabe and Nishio,[19] bearing in mind the undoubtedly strong 'popular tale' element, stress the forcefulness of the style, despite its occasional crudities.) But it is difficult to agree with Nomura that 'stylistically there is no alternative but to regard Uji-shūi as following in the footsteps of Konjaku.'[20] In any case, it is important to recognize that, with the possibility of several strata in the structure of the work, 'late' expressions in individual stories cannot necessarily be taken as typical of the whole. Certainly, vague talk of 'words of the time' is not enough to date the work accurately.

It might seem that the specific linguistic comparisons made by Satō[21] between Uji-shūi and Konjaku have more force. He cites six examples of differences where, he says, the Uji-shūi word or phrase is typical of a later period than that used in Konjaku. (His numbering of Uji-shūi stories has here been changed to accord with the practice throughout this study).

1. Where KM 23/21 has ni-sanjō 丈 and 23/22 has sanjō,

US 31 has ni-santan 段 and 177 has roku-shichitan. The tan as a measurement of length, says Satō, existed in the Engi period, i.e. the early tenth century, but was apparently not used until much later.

2. US 128 uses watasu in the intransitive sense of 'fording on horseback', where KM 25/9 has wataru.

3. US 92 uses gyōkō(行幸) naru where KM 5/18 has gyōkō shi-tamau.

4. US 104 uses bakasaru of the priest's being tricked (the trickery is also called bake), whereas KM 20/13 uses hakararu.

5. Where KM 28/20 has ikarite, US 25 has hara o tatete, a transitive use typical of a later period.

6. Uji-shūi makes frequent use of yaran where Konjaku uses ni ya aran (e.g. US 104 and 106, corresponding to KM 20/13 and 20/10).

Careful examination of these assertions of Satō, however, shows that they are by no means convincing. (1) It may well be true, though Satō gives only his personal opinion here, that a measure known to exist in earlier times was not widely used until the Kamakura period. But it should not be forgotten that in other places than the one cited by Satō, Uji-shūi and Konjaku both use the measurement jō (e.g. US 39, p.128/11,

US 91, p.213/1). (2) It is open to doubt whether watasu in the context referred to (US 128, p.312/13) could not be regarded as transitive and not intransitive, since it is preceded in the same sentence by two cases of wataru. On (3) I have no comment to make, but on (4) it is worth pointing out that though in the Konjaku story preceding that mentioned by Satō, one very similar in plot, the same word hakararu is used, in the Uji-shūi parallel to this (169) the word used is one of impeccable antiquity, azamukaru. On point (5) there is considerable doubt as to the correctness of Satō's reading of the Uji-shūi phrase. The editions of Nakajima, Nomura, and Watanabe and Nishio all have haradachite, and not hara o tatete. The Kokushi-taikei text has 腹立て, with no accusative particle, which suggests that the reading is haradachite. But even if we accept Satō's reading, it can still be said that Uji-shūi does not always use the transitive phrase; indeed, in the turtle story, quoted in Chapter 3, we find haradatsu in both Uji-shūi and Konjaku (US 164, KM 9/13). On point (6), I again offer no comment. My main criticism of Satō's argument, however, even if one grants that it may have some force, is that it is surely dangerous to generalize about a work such as Uji-shūi, where late expressions in one story do not necessarily form a basis for the judgment of other stories.

It is unfortunate that the only extensive study of the language of Uji-shūi, by Koyama Tomomaru,[22] has only limited value. It is useful as a collection of classified examples,[23] though it is not, in fact, quite complete and exhaustive. But he does not discuss his categories or examples except in generalizations about, for instance, the frequency of -zuru for -n to suru in Kamakura war-tales, or of sa wa in Heian literature. We need not here examine the whole of Koyama's work, but a few points call for some comment.

1. The extremely old-fashioned use of verbs which later belonged to the 2-step conjugation, inflected according to the 4-step conjugation.[24] Thus uzumu, 'to bury', occurs in 184 (a story not found in Konjaku) in the form uzumite. Osoru, 'to fear', appears in three stories in the form osori, as a verbal noun in 183, combined with -tamaikeri in 195 and by itself as a verb in 197. All these three stories have parallels in Konjaku, but in each case Konjaku uses some form of the 2-step conjugation.

2. A number of examples of the 2-step conjugation humble auxiliary verb tamau (e.g. omoi-tamaete),[25] which is used much like the modern -masu form. One story in which it occurs (57) has no parallels. All of the eight other stories in which it

appears (29, 93, 108, 119, 132, 176, 183) have parallels in Konjaku, but this verb is found in only three of the Konjaku versions (corresponding to US 29, 132 and 176).

3. The exclamatory ku wa, quoted by Nomura as an expression typical 'of the time', equivalent to ko (i.e. kore) wa. Koyama's examples[26] show it occurring in only three stories (8, 15, 16), for the first two of which no parallels are known, while the third has only an extremely remote parallel in Konjaku (and Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki).

4. The expletive sha (e.g. sha kubidomo o kitte), described by Koyama as common in war-tales. Nomura[27] says of this that examples are found as early as Konjaku but that it became a more forceful expression of contempt later. Koyama quotes[28] examples from three stories (8, 27, 119). But those in 27 and 119 can tell us nothing, since Konjaku uses the same expression in the same places. Koyama's other example occurs in a story with no known Japanese parallel (though Watanabe and Nishio[29] interpret the text at this point differently, taking sha as part of another word). I have found one other example, in the story of Kūsuke (109), which again has no parallel.

5. Wa, expressing affection or contempt, e.g. wasō 僧 ,

wanushi, wa-onna etc.. This prefix Nomura mentions only as an example of extreme colloquialism, but Koyama says that it is common in war-tales. It appears in ten Uji-shūi stories. Five are without parallels (15, 30, 37, 38, 123). Of the three Konjaku parallels, two use nanji (nanji kitsune for wagitsune in US 18, nanji for wa-onore in US 119), but the parallel to US 93 uses the same word as Uji-shūi, wa-onna. Wasō appears in US 88 and its Kohon counterpart. The tenth example, in US 170, is also of wasō, but the Uchigiki counterpart has at this point 和尚, i.e. k(w)ashō or oshō.

6. Torazannaru (US 22), an example given by Nomura[31] of the gemination of the consonant n through the assimilation of a preceding ru (which he describes as a common feature of the language of Kamakura war-tales) is not found among Koyama's examples, though he quotes other cases[32], e.g. tōkannaredo (96). But it is interesting to note that for one somewhat similar example which he gives, e-yomi-tamawazanaru[33], from a story (147) with a close parallel in Kohon, the corresponding word in the supposedly much earlier Kohon is e-yomi-tamawazannaru.

7. One example of the war-tale-style -tengeri (hiki-iretengeri) is found in 15, a story without parallel.

8. The contraction -nzu from -n to su, also said by Nomura and Koyama to be a typical feature of war-tales, is found, according to Koyama's examples[34], in thirty-seven stories (2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 18**, 25*, 31*, 37, 74, 77, 87*, 96**, 99, 102*, 108*, 109, 110, 112*, 119**, 123, 126**, 128*, 129, 130, 131*, 132**, 133, 136*, 143**, 164**, 169**, 188, 190, 192*). There are here nineteen stories with Konjaku parallels. In nine of these cases, indicated above by a double asterisk, the -nzu form is found both in Konjaku and in Uji-shūi. The remainder of the Konjaku parallels, in most of which the Konjaku form is -n to su, are indicated by a single asterisk.

The above examination of such linguistic evidence as has been presented hitherto will have shown that it by no means all points to the language of Uji-shūi as 'late'. Before leaving this subject, however, let me present the results of my investigation of one further aspect of the language of Uji-shūi and Konjaku.

Just as the occurrence of haberi in narrative passages was found to be possibly of significance for the study of the structure of Uji-shūi, so too the degree of its use in dialogue, particularly in comparison with sōrō, may be equally suggestive. It is a commonplace that haberi, after being in frequent use in the Heian period, gradually gave place to sōrō. Though it

can be shown from, say, Tsurezure-gusa that haberi was not entirely superseded, and could be used even in the fourteenth century alongside sōrō, it is true to say that haberi is typical of the heyday of the Court and sōrō of the feudal period. Sakurai, in the article referred to earlier on the use of sōrō and haberi in Konjaku,[35] points out that Konjaku, as a work of the transitional period, uses both. But so too does Uji-shūi, though it is assigned to the early Kamakura period and thus, if it belongs to a transitional period at all, comes at the very end of it. It is quite clear that Uji-shūi uses sōrō much more than haberi, for the latter is found in only forty-two stories, as opposed to seventy-eight. (I am unfortunately unable to report on the relative frequency of the two verbs in Uji-shūi with the same amount of statistical detail that Sakurai gives for Konjaku), but this fact certainly cannot be taken as evidence for a later date than that of Konjaku, since, according to Sakurai,[36] it is only in the non-Japanese Konjaku stories that haberi occurs more often than sōrō, the ratio being about 6-1 (57 occurrences to 9). In the Japanese stories, sōrō is over twice as frequent as haberi (573 occurrences to 273), and in the non-Buddhist section taken separately, almost three times as frequent (455 occurrences to 176). In general, the uses of the two verbs in Uji-shūi seem to follow much the same pattern as that

noted by Sakurai in Konjaku.[37]

It is clearly not possible to make very satisfactory comparisons of stories within Uji-shūi, partly because the amount of dialogue varies, some stories having none at all, but also because the use of such words as haberi and sōrō is dictated by the relative social levels of the characters, so that even in stories with extensive passages of dialogue, these words may not occur. But a useful comparison can be made between Uji-shūi stories and parallels in Konjaku.

I list below the Uji-shūi stories in which haberi occurs in dialogue. (It will be noticed that it occurs in a few but not all of the stories which use the same verb in narrative.) In each case I have indicated the formula, if any, with which the story begins (I = ima wa mukashi, Ki = kore mo ima wa mukashi, M = mukashi). The numbers of stories with parallels in Konjaku are marked with asterisks, and I have indicated with the letters A, B, C etc. the degree of closeness of the parallel (it will be remembered that C denotes stories which form only part of the corresponding Konjaku item). Only in the cases where there is a double asterisk, however, will haberi be found in Konjaku as well as Uji-shūi. In the remaining parallels, the counterpart in Konjaku of an Uji-shūi haberi is usually sōrō, though not always, some stories, e.g. the parallels to US 102, 145 and 167, having

neither sōrō nor haberi.

US No.	Category	Formula	US No.	Category	Formula
5		Ki	114		I
7		-	118**	B	I
8		-	119**	D	I
18**	B	I	136**	B	Ki
23**	B	I	137*	C	M
26		M	140**	C	-
27**	B	M	141*	C	M
30*	B	M	142		M
33		M	145*	D	M
53		M	146		I
54*	B	-	148*	B	I
57		-	155		I
58**	B	-	161*	B	I
59**	C	-	165		M
90*	B	I	167*	B	I
91**	B	M	170*	C	M
93*	B	I	176*	B	I
96**	B	I	185**	B	Ki
102*	B	Ki	191*	B	Ki
105*	C	M	193*	E	I
108*	B	-	194		Ki

While it is impossible to see any pattern in the facts above, two things at least are clear, first, that the number of stories in which the occurrence of haberi is not matched in Konjaku is surprisingly large, and second, that though some of these discrepancies between Uji-shūi and Konjaku probably arise as a result of a wider difference in wording, many do not, and thus they reveal the same lack of uniformity in Uji-shūi which we have seen in other respects, and which is surely remarkable in stories with an otherwise comparable degree of parallelism to Konjaku. This lack of uniformity is emphasized by the fact that the Konjaku version of some stories uses haberi whereas the Uji-shūi version does not. (e.g. US 31, 104, 106, 126, 128, 137-8, 143, 192). There is also one exceptional case (US 185) where both have haberi but the number of occurrences is greater in Konjaku than in Uji-shūi. It would be rash, on the basis of such data alone, to attempt an assessment of the priority of one version of any given story over the other. But the usage of haberi and sōrō in Uji-shūi as a whole certainly does not suggest that the work is of later date than Konjaku.

Summing up the foregoing discussion, we can say that there is good reason to suppose that Uji-shūi was not written all at one time and by one author. The evidence of language

reinforces the impression of the inconsistency of the whole, and does not point unequivocally to the Kamakura period, so that there is no real reason to regard the wording of the tales as a deliberate revision of earlier versions. Thus the evidence of Uji-shūi itself in no way conflicts with the implication of the preface that it is an augmented version of a text of Takakuni's Uji-dainagon-monogatari. Indeed, it is just such an assortment of tales as might be expected to result from a process of interpolations like that described in the preface.

The facts of Uji-shūi described above must be considered to cast doubt on the usual view of the work. In particular, my conception of its compilation could well explain a number of anomalies, such as the wide variation in the degree of similarity with stories in other works. Nevertheless, the idea that Uji-shūi might actually incorporate some text of Uji-dainagon-monogatari rather than be merely based on that work cannot be regarded as more than a bare possibility. Depending as it does on a reinterpretation of a preface whose reliability is not certain, it is put forward only as a very tentative suggestion, not as a fact which can be proved.

To conclude this study, let us examine a few further considerations in connection with this suggestion.

(a) It is clear that if Uji-shūi incorporates some text

of Uji-dainagon-monogatari, this must have been incomplete, since the present Uji-shūi contains only two of the stories quoted in medieval works as from Uji-dainagon-monogatari. It is possible, but in my opinion hardly likely, that these could all have been in the five books which Katayose supposes must have been lost from the Uji-shūi in twenty books noted in Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku.

It must be admitted that the story of Eijitsu quoted in Shimei-shō does not agree word for word with that in Uji-shūi (141), though the resemblance is very close. A small point worth noting is that the Uji-shūi text contains some examples of haberi as well as sōrō in the dialogue, but the Shimei-shō text uses only sōrō.

A word is required on the identity of the Uji-dainagon-monogatari mentioned, along with Uji-shūi and Uji-(no)-ashō-(no)-monogatari, in Kammon-gyoki and Sanetaka-kō-ki. The Uji-dainagon-monogatari compiled by Takakuni is thought to have been lost long before the date of these diaries, and in any case Uji-shūi was in the Tokugawa period sometimes referred to as Uji-dainagon-monogatari.[38] Katayose therefore thinks that all three titles in the diaries must refer to the same work, i.e. Uji-shūi. But it seems curious that the diarists should needlessly ring the changes on the titles in this way. Is it not better to think of them as different works? What

Uji-(no)-ashō-(no)-monogatari might then refer to is obscure. But surely the Uji-dainagon-monogatari in question could be the work also known as Yotsugi-monogatari, since a version of it called Koyotsugi is included in two Uji-shūi manuscripts as if it formed part of that work. It would in some sense be complementary to Uji-shūi, which is thought to have been the source of only one of its stories and which has in all only three stories in common with it.[39] (Of the thirteen Kohon tales found in this Uji-dainagon-monogatari, only one is in Uji-shūi, i.e. 146).

(b) It is clear that some stories in Kohon, e.g. those with parallels in Eiga-monogatari, Shumpi-shō etc., could not have been derived from Takakuni's Uji-dainagon-monogatari. Kohon does contain two of the tales quoted in medieval works as from that collection (19 and 47). But in the tale of Ōe Masahira (4), there occurs the statement that he 'lived in the house of the Great Counsellor of Uji'. This reference is obscure, since Masahira died in 1012, when the figure who, as we have seen, was commonly known in this way, i.e. Takakuni, was only eight years old. (It should be noted that the corresponding Konjaku story, 24/52, which does not contain this statement, is one of the group of Konjaku tales beginning with a verb in the -ki past form.)

The Uji-shūi story of the man who paid his gambling debt with his religious merit (86) differs significantly in its ending from the version in Kohon. Whereas the latter has ...to zo hito iu naru. Kono aru hito no koto nari, Uji-shūi lacks the last sentence and has a past tense in the first, thus ...to zo hito wa iikeru. This would suggest that the Kohon form is older. The same conclusion might be drawn from the three stories which in Kohon have sections not found in Uji-shūi (US 95, 146, 151). The omission in 151 is all the more difficult to explain because only the omitted section mentions Tsurayuki, yet the story in Uji-shūi appears to have been placed deliberately after other Tsurayuki stories, US 149 and 150 (the parallels in Kohon to these three stories are not adjacent).

It should perhaps be said that the suggestions made earlier concerning the stories in Uji-shūi with haberi in the narrative might also apply to the Kohon stories having a similar use of haberi.(6, 30, 53). Kohon, that is to say, might contain later interpolations.

(c) As Kunisaki points out, if the apparatus of linguistic and narrative standardization is removed from close Konjaku parallels with Uji-shūi, the two texts are seen to be even more closely similar. He therefore believes that the

Uji-shūi form is the earlier. Are there any positive indications that this is so?

Let us look at certain points in three of the stories. First, in Konjaku the story of Mochitsune (28/30) is stated to have taken place 'in the heyday of Lord Uji', but the Uji-shūi version (23) has no such phrase. Second, the story of Yorinobu and Tadatsune (KM 25/9) concludes with the statement that Yorinobu's sons and grandsons 'are still prospering and serving the Throne'. This sentence, which has been taken to indicate that the story could not have been written by Takakuni, does not appear in the Uji-shūi version (128). The third point is that in US 180, Fujiwara Yorimichi is referred to as ko-Ujidono, 'the late Lord Uji', whereas in the corresponding place Konjaku (26/16) has simply 'Lord Uji'.

As regards the first of these three points, there seems no reason why the phrase about Lord Uji should have been deliberately omitted by Uji-shūi, and it may be thought, therefore, that it is an addition of Konjaku. If this were an Uji-dainagon-monogatari story, it is doubtful whether Takakuni, who was closely associated with Yorimichi, would have used such a phrase, at least during Yorimichi's lifetime (he died in 1074, three years before Takakuni), if at all. The fact that this phrase does not occur in Uji-shūi may thus have some significance. On the second point, it might well

be objected that the omission of the phrase about sons and grandsons is not surprising in a work thought to have been compiled over a hundred years after the time in question. But if this amount of conscious revision took place, why does Uji-shūi in this story preserve the -ki past form in the introductory sentence -- Mukashi, Kawachi-no-kami Yorinobu, Kōzuke-no-kami nite arishi toki, Bandō ni Taira Tadatsune to iu tsuwamono ariki.'? Konjaku here uses the -keri form in both cases. The last of the three points is perhaps most significant of all, particularly because another phrase in this Uji-shūi story, konogoro aru (Hakozaki no tayū...) has so often been singled out as an example of how Uji-shūi reproduces such time phrases from an earlier text even though the point of reference is different. It is difficult to decide when the word ko-, 'late', ceases to be applicable, but it had clearly become inapplicable by the time of Konjaku. Since Yorimichi died in 1074, this expression could still have been used even if the story were not by Takakuni. But its use certainly suggests that the form of the story is earlier than that of Konjaku.

An additional feature of this story which might suggest that it represents an early text is that it ends with a verb in the attributive of the -ki past form. The phrase in question, ...to hito no katarishi nari, seems to be not simply

a general statement, 'that is how the story has been handed down', but rather a specific reference to some telling of the story (literally, 'that is the story as someone told it'). But the use of the phrase here is problematical, since Uji-shūi follows the first jewel story with another, as part of the same item, and the katarishi phrase comes right at the end, after the second story. It may therefore possibly refer only to the latter. This too could be an early story, of course, but it gives no clue to its date, and since it does not appear in Konjaku, it may be a later addition in Uji-shūi. However, the phrase in question does show clearly that at least the second story has an oral source. Some other tales in Uji-shūi have similar endings, e.g. 90, 109 (the latter has ...to zo kikishi), but these give no indication of the date of their recording.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that in some Uji-shūi stories, the final phrases containing -ki past forms do show it to preserve an earlier form than Konjaku. The Konjaku version of the story of the two children stranded on an island (26/10) exactly reproduces the ending of the Uji-shūi version (56), ...to zo hito katarishi, but follows this with a moralizing comment, kore o omou ni...me-oto ni narikeme to nan kataritsutaetaru to ya. The source of Konjaku evidently ended in the same way as Uji-shūi. Further examples of such

Konjaku additions, with final comments following katarishi nari phrases which occur in Uji-shūi, are found in 27/26 (US 118) and 27/42 (US 163). In one case, 24/18 (US 122), Konjaku omits the katarishi phrase altogether.

It seems clear that in the above instances the Uji-shūi form at least closely resembles that on which Konjaku was based. The situation within Uji-shūi itself, however, that is, apart from parallels with Konjaku, is not without complication. In one case, for instance, the ending ...to hito wa katarishi is followed by a comment containing -keri past forms, kore katarikeru hito wa ogami-tatematsurikeru to zo (82). Although Watanabe and Nishio[40] point to this phrase as evidence of direct recording from an oral source, the change from katarishi to katarikeru is puzzling, and could, it seems to me, suggest that this is a comment added to an existing story. A similar case to this is 110, though there the -keri ending can be taken to be of more general application than that in 82. One interesting difference is that whereas 82 begins with a -keri past, 110, like the preceding 109, begins with -ki (...ariki...sumishi).

If we look at introductory sentences, we see that a number of Konjaku stories introduce their characters with verbs in the -ki past form. The attempts that have been made to date the stories in question, in order to show whether they

could have been written by Takakuni, have already been described, in Chapter 6. Now though five of the stories also occur in Uji-shūi (25, 27, 29, 166, 185), only three there have -ki past endings, the others (25 and 185) having -keri instead. It seems impossible that these two could be in an earlier form than that in Konjaku, which would scarcely have altered a -keri into a -ki form. (Three other Uji-shūi stories [167, 174, 197] with parallels in Konjaku also begin with -ki forms, but no conclusions can be drawn as to the date of writing of these stories since they are all Chinese in origin and thus of a kind in which, according to Sakurai, the -ki past form is used more freely. It is interesting to note, however, that their Konjaku counterparts all begin with -keri.) It has already been suggested that these variations probably reflect different stages in the development of Uji-shūi. But the existence in Japanese stories of the introductory phrases in -ki must also, surely, show that the form of these stories is early.

In this connection, let us look once more at the disputed phrase in KM 23/15 referring to the main character of the following story, i.e. (Kono Norimitsu wa...) tadaima aru Suruga-no-zenji Suemichi to iu hito (no chichi nari...). This phrase, as we have seen, has been thought to indicate that this item in Konjaku was written while Suemichi was still

alive, despite the fact that the next story speaks of him in the past tense. Now though both these stories appear in Uji-shūi, they are widely separated (27 and 132), and though the second of these does mention that Norimitsu was the father of Suemichi, it does so not, as in Konjaku, at the end of the story, but at the beginning, furthermore without using the tadaima aru phrase. Is not a possible explanation of this that the stories were not together in the source of Konjaku, but since Konjaku classifies and systematizes its stories, it placed the story of Norimitsu immediately before that of his son, Suemichi? Given this situation, tadaima aru Suemichi could then mean simply, 'Suemichi, whose story comes next'.

It might be objected that the character of whom the other example of tadaima aru in Konjaku is used (the champion wrestler Tamemura in 23/25) does not appear in the next story, which indeed bears no relation at all to the preceding one. Nevertheless, it is significant that the tadaima aru again occurs at the end of the story proper, though a long comment on the story follows it. Also, this phrase is not used when the same character is mentioned in an earlier story (23/21), in a similar context, a naming of the descendants of the main character, Narimura. Could the explanation of this be that there once existed, or was projected, a story of Tamemura, as one of this group of stories about champion wrestlers? Since

book 23 of Konjaku is in any case incomplete, beginning at story 13 (indeed, the stories from 15 onwards are not numbered in old manuscripts), this seems quite possible.

APPENDIX

SUMMARIES OF THE STORIES CONTAINED IN UJI-SHŪI

The main numbers are those given to the stories in the edition of Watanabe and Nishio. The more conventional numbering, according to the divisions of the 15-book text, is given in brackets.

1. (1/1)

The Preceptor Dōmyō is a lover of Izumi Shikibu. While with her one night, he wakes up and begins to recite the Lotus Sūtra, and as he finishes, he senses someone nearby. This proves to be an old man who is a guardian deity of travellers in Fifth Avenue. Dōmyō's reading is so magnificent that he normally has a large audience of Buddhist divinities, but because on this occasion he has not purified himself after sexual relations, the usual audience is absent, and the humble deity has for the first time been able to get near enough to hear.

2. (1/2)

In a village in Tamba, where mushrooms have always grown prolifically, they cease to grow. Some months

before, villagers had dreamt that twenty or thirty priests, not known to them, came and announced that their connection with this village was now to be severed. The Assistant High Priest Chūin points out that impure priests are said to be reborn as mushrooms.

3. (1/3)

An old woodcutter has a great wen on his right cheek. One day, while out in the mountains, he is caught in a storm and has to spend the night sheltering in a hollow tree. During the night he hears a great commotion and looks out to find a swarm of hideous demons who seat themselves round his tree, drinking and making merry. When all have danced in turn, their chief says he would have liked some unusual dance, at which the old man suddenly feels an irresistible urge to go out and dance. This he does to such effect that the chief says he must always attend their entertainments in future, and to ensure his attendance they decide to take a pledge from him. When they choose his wen, the old man makes a show of reluctance, which makes them adamant. His wen is pulled from his face and the party breaks up.

Soon after the old man has returned home, his neighbour calls and, finding his wen gone, inquires how this happened. He has a similar affliction, on his left

cheek, and when he hears the story, he sets off to try to rid himself of his wen in the same way. However his dance for the demons, who think he is the same man as before, is so bad that they return the wen which they had taken - and he is left with a wen on both cheeks.

4. (1/4)

The Ban Great Counsellor (Ban Yoshio), when a young man, dreams that he is standing astride the Saidai-ji and Tōdai-ji. When he tells his wife, she says simply that he will surely split apart at the crotch. He consults the district governor, his master, who is an expert physiognamist, and it is foretold that his future will be brilliant but will end in disgrace, because he has told his dream to a worthless person.

5. (1/5)

An itinerant priest comes to a house to beg for alms and pretends that a scar on his forehead was caused when he opened up his head and inserted the Zuigu Dharani. But a young retainer recognizes him as an adulterer who had been chased by the aggrieved husband and had his head split open with a hoe.

6. (1/6)

An itinerant priest comes to the house of the Middle Counsellor Morotoki to beg for alms, and pretends to such

holiness that he has cut off his penis, in order to sever all earthly ties. He seems indeed to have no penis, but Morotoki has him laid on the ground and orders a young page to rub him, whereupon his member, which had been stuck down, concealed in pubic hair, becomes erect and is revealed.

7. (1/7)

A hunter, out stag-hunting by flare one night, sees a pair of eyes and is on the point of shooting at them when he suspects that they are not those of a stag. On investigation, he finds a holy man, who is a friend, disguised in a stag's skin. The holy man had set out to make his friend kill him, in an effort to demonstrate the error of his ways. The hunter renounces hunting and takes holy orders, as the other's disciple.

8. (1/8)

A traveller stays the night at a large, dilapidated house in which a woman seems to be living alone. When he and his party are leaving next morning, she stops them, saying that he owes her one thousand <u>ryō</u> of gold. He asks if her father had been a diviner, and she agrees. When dying, he had informed her that on a certain date ten years later, a traveller would stay in the house who owed him one thousand <u>ryō</u> of gold, and that she was to ask for

repayment. In the course of the ten years, she had gradually become impoverished. The specified day had now come. The traveller believes her because he has already divined that there is some gold inside one of the corner-posts of the house. It had been placed there to prevent the daughter spending it unwisely, and in the foreknowledge that on a certain date a traveller would stay at the house who would be able to divine the whereabouts of the money.

9. (1/9)

Lord Uji (Fujiwara Yorimichi) falls ill and the High Priest Shinyo is summoned to exorcise the evil spirit responsible. It is driven out even before he arrives, because he is so holy that he is preceded by a guardian Spirit.

10. (1/10)

Hata Kanehisa (according to other versions of the story the name should be Kanekata) submits a poem to Fujiwara Michitoshi, the compiler of the Imperial anthology Go-shūi-shū, but it is rejected because it contains a repetition of the suffix keri and also a phrase hana koso which sounds as though someone is calling a girl. Kanehisa departs in high dudgeon and points out to some retainers that a similar criticism could be made of the famous poem by Kintō Haru kite zo... When this is

reported to Michitoshi, he comments, "He is quite right. Say nothing about this."

11. (1/11)

At a Buddhist service in which the Gen Great Counsellor Masatoshi has engaged priests of absolute chastity to preach, a certain priest hesitates to strike the gong, finally blurting out "Does masturbation count?" He admits to having indulged only the night before.

(It is possible to interpret the word here rendered 'masturbation' as meaning 'sodomy'.)

12. (1/12)

When the priests in a monastery on Mt. Hiei decide to make rice-cakes, a young boy-novice feigns sleep, in order not to appear over-anxious. To his chagrin, they decide to leave him to sleep, and when he hears them eating, he belatedly answers their call, afraid of missing the treat.

13. (1/13)

A boy-novice on Mt. Hiei cries when he sees a strong wind scattering the cherry-blossom. But a priest who tries to console him finds that his grief is strictly practical - he is afraid it will spoil his father's crops.

14. (1/14)

One morning, because of rain, the son-in-law of a retainer of the Gen Great Counsellor Sadafusa stays in his

wife's room, contrary to custom, instead of going home. She goes off to her duties in Sadafusa's household. Kotōda, his father-in-law, takes in some refreshment for him but receives a shock, for the son-in-law, thinking he has heard his wife returning, is lying there arching his back to make his penis stand erect.

15. (1/15)

A man bringing a pack-train loaded with salmon into the capital is just passing a forge near Awataguchi when a young apprentice steals some fish and, stuffing them into his clothes, makes off. Catching up with him, the man forces him to undo his clothes, revealing the salmon. The lad counters with a ribald remark which might be translated, "If you go stripping them and fishing around like this, you'll certainly find there isn't even an Emperor's consort or concubine without a long slice down below the waist." (The point of this lies in two puns, one on sake, 'salmon' and also 'split, crack', and the other on seki, shaku, a numeral classifier for counting fish and also a measurement of length.)

16. (1/16)

A confidence trickster swindles an old nun, who longs to see the Bodhisattva Jizō, by promising, for a consideration, to take her to see him but in fact conducting her to

a house where there lives a quite ordinary young boy named Jizō. When the boy comes in, the nun prostrates herself in adoration, and as he scratches his forehead, it opens, to reveal the countenance of the Bodhisattva Jizō.

17. (1/17)

An itinerant priest shelters at night in an old deserted temple in Settsu province. Late at night some hundred horrible one-eyed demons enter. One cannot find a place to sit, and commenting that there is a new statue of Fudō there, he lifts the priest and deposits him under the verandah. The demons eventually depart and when dawn comes the priest finds himself in a strange place which he does not recognize. On enquiring of some passers-by, he finds he is now in Bizen.

18. (1/18)

The young scion of a wealthy country family, Fujiwara Toshihito, overhears a rather sniffly and shabby retainer in the house of the Civil Dictator express a wish that he could eat his fill of yam soup, and promises to enable him to fulfil his desire. Four or five days afterwards, Toshihito invites him to come for a hot bath, but takes him further and further away from the capital until he finally reveals to his mystified guest that their

destination is the family home at Tsuruga, in Echizen.

On the way there, Toshihito catches a fox and sends it on to his home to announce their impending arrival. Sure enough, when they approach Tsuruga next day, they are met by a party of horsemen, who tell how their coming had been announced by a fox which had taken possession of Toshihito's wife. The retainer is entertained most hospitably and lavishly. An order goes out to the local populace to contribute yams, and such a great heap is collected and so much soup made that the retainer loses his appetite for it. (But some is given to the fox-messenger, seen lurking on a roof). The retainer is entertained for about a month, then sent back to the capital loaded with presents.

19. (2/1)

The holy man Seitoku circumambulates his mother's coffin for three years reciting a dharani, until eventually her voice is heard announcing that she has achieved Buddhahood. On his way back to the capital, Seitoku pulls and eats some onions. When invited by their owner to eat as many as he likes, he eats all that the field contains. Invited in to a meal, he then eats a whole <u>koku</u> of rice. The rumour of this leads Fujiwara Morosuke to invite him to a meal. He appears, followed by a great

crowd of hungry demons, animals and birds, which are visible to Morosuke but to no-one else. Thus the enormous meal which people think Seitoku has eaten is in fact eaten by these creatures. Afterwards, he and they excrete in a lane, which gives it the nickname Dung Lane. This the Emperor later changes to Brocade Lane.

20. (2/2)

During a drought in the Engi period, the Emperor has sixty priests pray for rain but none succeeds except Jōkan, who is rewarded with promotion from the rank of Master of Buddhist Asceticism to that of Assistant High Priest of Buddhism.

21. (2/3)

The same Jōkan, now a High Priest, by seven days and nights of incantations destroys a rock shaped like a dragon's mouth which had exerted a baleful influence, causing the deaths of those who lived facing it.

22. (2/4)

A gold-beater makes gold-foil out of gold he had found while on a pilgrimage to Mt. Kimbu. But when he tries to sell it, the purchaser, a police official, finds on it the inscription, "The Sacred Golden Peak". The chief of police has the man questioned, he is cruelly flogged and dies in prison. The gold-foil is replaced

where it came from.

23. (2/5)

Mochitsune, a junior official of the office controlling the Left Division of the Capital, happens to be in the kitchen of Lord Uji's house when a present of sea-bream arrives. He begs a couple from the cook, in the hope that he will be able to curry favour with his departmental chief. It so happens that the latter does need some fish with which to entertain some guests, and Mochitsune offers him the bream, sending someone to fetch them from Lord Uji's kitchen. Some young men there, however, have played a joke on him, for when the parcel arrives and Mochitsune proudly opens it, he finds, not fish, but old clogs and sandals.

24. (2/6)

When his neighbour dies but cannot be carried out through his own front gate because the direction is unlucky, Shimotsuke Atsuyuki risks the defilement that will be caused and offers to allow the body to be taken out through his own house. Atsuyuki's family protest vigorously but he ignores them, and no harm comes of it whatever.

25. (2/7)

A Court priest named Zenchin, of Ikenoo (near Uji) is very devout, runs his temple well and is highly respected. But he is afflicted with a grotesquely long and pimply nose

which itches so much that he occasionally immerses it in boiling water and has it trodden on to squeeze out the pimples. This treatment reduces its size temporarily, but it always swells again. Such a nose hampers his eating and he employs a priest to support it for him. There is only one man who can do it satisfactorily, but one day when he is ill, an attractive young boy volunteers to help, and he is doing it beautifully until he suddenly sneezes. The nose slips off its supporting stick and falls plop into the gruel.

26. (2/8)

Abe Seimei, the famous diviner, sees a crow void its droppings over a young officer of the Guards and realizes that it is an evil spirit menacing his life. Seimei goes home with him and casts spells all night. Eventually a messenger arrives to say that the diviner who had been engaged to bring down an evil spirit upon the officer has himself been struck down by it. The diviner had been engaged by the officer's brother-in-law, out of jealousy.

27. (2/9)

The retainers of a certain noble household are angry at the visits of the young Tachibana Suemichi to a lady-in-waiting in the house, and on one occasion, after he has arrived, they lock the gates and bar all exits to prevent

him getting out. The lady's maid, sent to reconnoitre, finds there is no possibility of his eluding them. Suemichi resolves to stay in his lady's room and die fighting if they come to drag him out, but he is worried for the safety of his page, who has been told to come for him next morning. When the lad arrives, however, he announces that he is the attendant of the priest who visits the house to recite the Scriptures, and is not molested. Suddenly, as Suemichi waits, a girl is heard to scream for help in the road, and some of the retainers abandon their watch to go to her aid, whereupon Suemichi seizes his chance and escapes. He guesses that the lad has devised some ruse to help him, and indeed, as he runs away, he is joined by the resourceful boy, who explains that he had quickly summed up the situation and pretended to attack the girl so as to create a diversion.

28. (2/10)

A notorious robber named Hakamadare one night stalks a man who is strolling along playing a flute. Despite Hakamadare's pursuit and several attempts at attacking, the man remains quite unperturbed. In the end, the man orders Hakamadare to come with him, and he feels compelled to do so. The man proves to be Fujiwara Yasumasa, and at his house Hakamadare is given a coat and told, if he needs one

in future, to come and ask for it, rather than steal.

29. (2/11)

Fujiwara Akihira rents a room in a humble house to which to take his mistress in secret, and the woman of the house agrees to give up her own room to them. The master of the house is not at home. He has heard that his wife has a lover and has made a pretence of going away, but returns late at night, to hear a woman and a man whispering in his bedroom. Not knowing about the letting of the room and thinking his wife is unfaithful, he goes in to kill her lover - but just in time sees that the man is wearing silken trousers, and realizes his mistake, for his wife could not have a lover who wore such elegant clothes.

30. (2/12)

An old woman in China climbs laboriously up a mountain every day, whatever the weather, to look at a stūpa on the summit. She is observed by a gang of young men to circumambulate the stūpa. When questioned, she replies that she goes to the stūpa daily because her father had told her that if ever blood appeared on it, that would be a sign that the mountain was going to crumble and become a deep sea. For a joke, the young men smear some blood on the stūpa and tell people in the nearby village what the old

woman had said. Next day, when she sees the blood, the old woman rushes down, warns everyone and takes her whole family away out of danger. The young men think this a great joke - until suddenly the sky darkens and the mountain does crumble away. Only the old woman's family escapes unscathed.

31. (2/13)

Some wrestlers, up in the capital for a championship, find their path blocked one day by a group of students from the University. They decide that the next day they will force their way past, but receive a shock. Among the students is one of incredible strength who flings away the wrestler deputed to tackle him as if he were handling a stick. Narimura, the champion wrestler, just manages to escape the clutches of this student. Efforts are made to trace him so that he may be recruited as a wrestler, but he cannot be found.

32. (2/14)

The Minister of the Right exposes the trickery of a kestrel which had appeared on a persimmon tree in the guise of Buddha. He simply stares at it until it falls to the ground.

33. (3/1)

Daitarō, leader of a gang of thieves, spots a house

in the capital which seems a likely place to rob, with promise of a rich haul and only women in the house. After he has spied out the land, posing as a silk-merchant, the gang go one night to burgle the place, but they experience an uncanny feeling, as if boiling water were being dashed in their faces, and cannot enter. The same happens the next night, yet each time when the house is visited by day nothing untoward happens. The third night, they hear the sound of an arrow being tested and fear for their lives. Moreover, when they try to leave, they feel something holding them back. Daitarō eventually learns from a friend in the vicinity that this is the house of a redoubtable warrior.

34. (3/2)

Fujiwara Tadaie (later known as the Tō Great Counsellor) is with his mistress one night and, moved by the beauty of the moonlight, draws her towards him, but she twists her body away - and as she does so, lets a loud fart. Tadaie goes off feeling there is nothing for him but to shave his head, but quickly realizes that no such step is called for.

35. (3/3)

Koshikibu-no-naishi is having affairs with both the Middle Counsellor Sadayori and the Civil Dictator. Once

when the latter is in bed with her, Sadayori knocks at the door. He does not come in but begins to recite the Lotus, so magnificently that she sighs admiringly and turns her back on her bedfellow, much to his chagrin.

36. (3/4)

An itinerant priest demands to be taken across a ferry without payment, but the ferryman refuses and rows off without him. Furious, the priest casts spells which bring the loaded boat back and then capsize it.

37. (3/5)

Minamoto Kunitoshi calls on the famous Kakuyū (the High Priest Toba) and is asked to wait a while. When Kakuyū has still not appeared some four hours later, he calls for his carriage to return home, but learns that Kakuyū has gone out in it, having told the servants that he had Kunitoshi's permission. Kunitoshi gets his own back in a rather cruel way. He remembers that Kakuyū, when taking a bath, likes to lie on chopped straw covered with a straw mat. Kunitoshi removes the straw, to give to the tired oxen when they return, and substitutes an up-turned go board on a bucket, the whole covered with the mat. The legs of the go board give Kakuyū a painful surprise when he returns and lies down in the bath.

(In the text, Kunitoshi is described as Kakuyū's

nephew but both were in fact sons of Minamoto Takakuni.)

38. (3/6)

Yoshihide, a painter of Buddhist pictures, does nothing to save his own house when his neighbour's house catches fire. He stands watching, quite unperturbed, as the fire spreads. The reason, he explains, is that it has shown him how the halo of flames around the head of Fudō should be depicted.

39. (3/7)

A tiger leaps from a crag to attack a Japanese trader's ship taking on water on the coast of Silla. It falls short, landing in the sea as the boat is hurriedly rowed away. Then as it swims to land, it is seen that its left foreleg has been bitten off by a shark. When the shark comes close to the shore, the tiger claws at it, hurls it up out of the water and kills it.

40 (3/8)

A woodcutter has his axe taken away by a forest-keeper, but receives it back when he composes a clever poem punning on the word yoki ('axe' and 'good').

41. (3/9)

The elder sister of Haku-no-haha (the mother of the Head of the Bureau of Shinto, i.e. of Prince Yasusuke) is abducted by Taira Koremoto, with the connivance of her maid,

and taken to live in Hitachi province. Years later, when Haku-no-haha goes to Hitachi as wife of the Governor, she is visited by the two daughters of her now-dead sister. When the Governor is about to return to the capital, they bring him presents which show how fabulously wealthy their father must have been.

42. (3/10)

The High Priest Yōen, when he dedicates a statue for Haku-no-haha is presented with a piece of wood from the Nagara Bridge, a place famed in poetry. Her accompanying poem makes use of a pun on the word watasu (which in any case has associations with bridges), 'to hand over, present' and 'to carry across' (i.e. to Salvation). The next day a priest comes and asks to be given this relic, but Yōen refuses to give it away.

43. (3/11)

Tōroku, i.e. Fujiwara Sukenari, is caught in the act of stealing food from a saucepan, but is recognized and forgiven on condition that he composes an appropriate poem. His verse says that since ancient times Amida, in accordance with his vows (chikai) saves (sukuu) those who are being cooked (niyuru mono, i.e. sinners in Hell), but it incorporates puns alluding to what he was doing, i.e. scooping up (sukuu) with a spoon (kai) something cooking (niyuru mono).

44. (3/12)

A cruel retainer of Tada Mitsunaka, who has always delighted in taking life, dies and is haled before Emma (Yama), the King of the underworld and the judge of sinners. But he is saved and restored to life through the intercession of a priest who reveals that he is the Jizō to which the man had once chanced to show some respect by removing his hat as he passed a temple and saw the statue through the open door.

45. (3/13)

The head of the Kokuryū-ji is having an image of Jizō made, but it happens that at this time his wife is enticed away from him and, distracted by this, he leaves the image incomplete. One of the under-priests has it finished, though only plainly. Later, this priest dies but is restored to life and tells how Jizō, in the guise of a priest, had intervened to save him when he was being dragged along by demons, in the underworld.

46. (3/14)

The Chief of the Bureau of Palace Repairs, i.e. Toshitsuna, son of Lord Uji and adopted son of Tachibana Toshitō, goes to Owari as Governor. The God of Atsuta being at that time very powerful, the chief priest at the Atsuta shrine is even more influential than the Governor

of the province. The new Governor refuses to accept this position and orders the chief priest to come and pay his respects. When he refuses, the Governor orders the confiscation of his land. The chief priest finally does pay the visit and is arrested, whereupon he prays to the God to avenge this insult. But in a dream, the God tells him he can do nothing. The Governor is a reincarnation of a former priest named Sungō (the on reading of the characters for the name Toshitsuna) who had often dedicated readings of the Lotus Sūtra to the God, but who had been driven away by the chief priest, and had vowed to be reborn as Governor with the fixed intention of revenging himself. 47. (3/15)

The younger daughter of the former Governor of Nagato dies, but at her funeral her coffin is found to be empty. Later her body is found to be back in the room in which it had been lying after her death. On the next day the body again transports itself out of the coffin, and is immovable when the attempt is made to put it back. However, when it is decided to bury it there beneath the floor of that room, it feels light and is easily handled. The body is buried with a mound of earth over it. Everyone is too frightened to go on living in the house, and eventually the abandoned building goes to rack and ruin, only the mound

remaining.

48. (3/16)

An old woman takes care of an injured sparrow and despite the scoffing of her children, nurses it back to health. When recovered, it flies off, but returns twenty days later and drops a gourd-seed as a gift for her. When planted, this single seed bears extraordinarily well. Many of the fruit are given away to the old woman's neighbours. The seven or eight which she hangs to dry, for use as containers, prove to be remarkably heavy, and when cut open, they are found to contain an inexhaustible supply of rice, replenished as soon as used.

The old woman next door is curious and worms the secret out of her. But she resolutely refuses to give away any seeds. The neighbour therefore attempts to bring herself good fortune by tending an injured sparrow, indeed three injured sparrows. But they are birds which she has herself injured by throwing stones at them and though, when released, they too come back and drop gourd-seeds, these seeds do not grow very well, and the fruit is bitter and causes violent sickness to the old woman, her family and the neighbours. When some of the gourds have been dried, they are cut open - but what emerges is not rice but swarms of bees, centipedes and other such creatures which attack

the old woman and her children. The old woman herself is stung to death, still under the delusion that the gourds are yielding rice.

49. (3/17)

Ono no Takamura, the great scholar of Chinese, is made, though unwillingly, to read a notice in Chinese which has been put up in the Palace. It proves to be disrespectful to the Emperor Saga. The Emperor knows that only Takamura is clever enough to have written such a notice, but excuses his insolence when he is able to give a reading to a sequence consisting of the character 子 written twelve times in succession. (Neko no ko no koneko, shishi no ko no kojishi, "a little kitten, a little lion-cub".)

50. (3/18)

The notorious lover Heichū meets his match in a lady-in-waiting named Hon-in-no-jijū, who refuses to respond to his advances. On one occasion he gains admittance to her room and thinks she is about to yield to him, but she leaves him, ostensibly to shut a door, and does not come back. He conceives the idea of finding something about her to disgust him and cure him of his love. To this end, he has his servant steal her chamber-pot, thinking that what he sees there will revolt him. But somehow she must have devined his purpose, for he finds only sweet-smelling imitation

urine and excrement. Her trick fascinates him more than ever, but his love remains unrequited.

51. (3/19)

The Regent of First Avenue, a notorious lover, tries under an assumed name to make a conquest of the daughter of a high-ranking noble. But though he has gained the support of her mother and nurse, her father is angry when he hears about it. However, the two have not yet been intimate, and when asked by the mother to write to the father to this effect, the Regent does so in a poem about the difficulty of passing Ōsaka (Ausaka) no seki, "The Barrier of Meeting Hill". The father replies in like vein.

52. (3/20)

A man shoots at a fox, but only wounds it. Later when nearing home, he sees it ahead of him with a torch in its mouth. It changes into a man, sets fire to his house, changes back into a fox, and runs away.

53. (4/1)

A fox-spirit, through the mouth of the girl to whom it has been transferred by exorcism, explains that it had only come to find food for its family. The girl eats some rice-cakes and asks for paper to wrap up the remainder, which she puts into her coat. When the spirit is driven out, the girl collapses - and the paper parcel is found to

have disappeared.

54. (4/2)

The Governor of Noto, hearing from the foreman of his iron-miners that gold is to be found in Sado - he even says that gold flowers bloom there - sends the man over to fetch some. The man goes alone and does bring back some gold which he delivers personally and in secret to the Governor. He then disappears, it is suspected to fetch some gold for himself.

55. (4/3)

The very devout and honest head of the Yakushi-ji is on the point of death but revives and says that instead of Amida, as he had expected, messengers from Hell have come to fetch him. The reason, they say, is that he once borrowed five to (about 2½ bushels) of rice belonging to the temple without returning it. He begs his disciples to make a contribution for a sūtra-reading. This they do, and after a while, he announces that the demons have been replaced by messengers from Paradise, and meets his end happily.

56. (4/4)

A man who lives in Tosa but owns some land in another province goes there by boat to plant seedlings. On arriving, he leaves his two young children, a boy and a

girl, to look after the boat while he goes to hire labourers. The children are asleep in the bottom of the boat, which had been beached, when the tide comes up and floats it off. They are swept out to sea and eventually are blown to an uninhabited island far to the south. They have a little food with them, and, having tools, they plant the rice-seedlings and cultivate the ground, and cut down timber to build a hut. They live on fruit until their crop ripens, when the land proves to be particularly fertile. Eventually they marry and have many children, who intermarry until there are too many people for the island to support. The name of the island is Imosejima, 'Brother and Sister Island'.

57. (4/5)

A woman going to attend an Enlightenment Sermon (i.e. on the Lotus Sūtra) at the Urin Cloister notices that another woman who has accidentally dislodged a stone while walking over a bridge is being followed by a snake which had been under the stone. The snake seems invisible to the woman being followed and to everyone else. The first woman keeps watch on the other and sees the snake follow her everywhere - to the service at the Urin Cloister, then into a house. The watcher goes to the house and asks for lodging, pretending to have come up from the country. The

woman being followed proves not to be the owner of the house. The snake is curled up on the floor watching her but its presence is unsuspected. Nothing untoward happens during the evening and the watching woman finally retires to bed. Next morning the other woman says she has been dreaming of a creature half-snake and half-woman which told her its story and expressed its gratitude for its release from torment. It had been a woman but had been condemned to this snake existence as punishment for the sin of hatred. The dislodging of the stone had released it and now having heard the Law preached at the Urin Cloister service, its sins had been wiped out. It had promised to reward her with riches and a good husband. The two women become firm friends, and the snake's promises are fulfilled.

58. (4/6)

A habitual criminal, having already been arrested seven times, is about to have his feet cut off by the police when an expert physiognomist passes by and seeing the man, he stops them, telling them that the man's face shows he will go to Paradise. As a result, the man is released, whereupon he is inspired to enter religion. Eventually he becomes a celebrated priest, instituting the Enlightenment Sermons at the Tōhoku Cloister.

59. (4/7)

The Governor of Mikawa (later known as the Lay Priest of Mikawa) leaves his first wife in order to live with a beautiful young woman whom he loves so much that after her early death, though illness has robbed her of her beauty, he cannot refrain from embracing and kissing her body - until it begins to putrefy and has to be buried. In the midst of his grief at her death, he is horrified at the sight of the sacrifice of a living wild boar at a festival and resolves to leave the province. In order to strengthen his resolve, and not for the sake of cruelty alone, he has his servants pluck and cut up a live pheasant before his eyes. Later while begging at a noble house, he finds that it is his own first wife from whom he is asking for food. She is glad to find the husband who abandoned her thus humbled, but he is unperturbed.

60. (4/8)

The religious teacher of Shimmyōbu, a saintly old man, falls ill and confesses to his disciples that it is because he has conceived a lust for her and is afraid of being reborn as a snake. When Shimmyōbu hears of this, she comes to him at once and says he should have told her - she could never refuse him anything. The old priest, telling his beads, says he is going to dedicate to her the

most wonderful passage in the Lotus, which he has recited so many times. He prophesies that if she bears any children, each will become very great, and be Civil Dictator, Regent, Consort or Empress, or a Prince of the Church. Thereupon he dies. The lady later becomes the wife of Lord Uji and has three children who fulfil the old man's prophecy.

61. (4/9)

Michinaga sends the High Priest Kanshū to the dying Naritō's bedside, thinking that Naritō will have some last instructions to give. Naritō revives long enough to do this.

62. (4/10)

Two anecdotes of somewhat insulting remarks made by an official of the Bureau of Archivists in the time of Lord Hosshō-ji (Fujiwara Tadamichi). To Atsumasa, Vice-Chief of the Bureau of Civil Affairs, who is indignant at being summoned for compulsory service, and says "Who do you think I am?" and "Come on, tell me about myself," he replies that he knew him by his red nose. To Tadatsune, a member of the Guards, who overhears him describing his (Tadatsune's) appearance as "peccable", (wari-aru), he explains that he uses this term because his appearance is so unlike that of one Takemasa, which everyone speaks of as "impeccable" (wari-naki).

63. (4/11)

On the strength of a recommendation made to him by Michinaga in a dream, the retired Emperor Go-Suzaku has a sixteen-foot statue of the Buddha made to ensure his own salvation.

64. (4/12)

A certain Saneshige is a constant visitor to the Kamo shrine, but his prayers avail him nothing. (In a dream, someone hears the God complain "Here is Saneshige again".) But he prays that he may be granted a vision of the original Buddha or divinity of which the Kamo God is an avatār, and one night during a vigil, he dreams he is on his way from the Lower to the Upper Shrine when he sees a procession with a sūtra written in gold being carried in an Imperial palanquin. It bears the inscription, quoted from the Lotus, that all can enter on the way of the Buddha through one invocation of his name.

65. (4/13)

The priest Chikai, when leaving the Kiyomizu temple, hears a religious text being recited by someone and finds him to be a leper. They begin to discuss the Scriptures and Chikai is completely worsted. The man says he lives on this hill, but he never appears again. He may have been an incarnation of some divinity.

66. (4/14)

The retired Emperor Shirakawa suffers at night from attacks by an evil spirit, but these stop when Minamoto Yoshiie presents him with his bow to lay by his pillow. Curiously, when Shirakawa asks if this is the bow used by Yoshiie in the wars to subdue Abe Yoritoki, he says he cannot remember.

67. (4/15)

The Assistant High Priest Eichō, from Nara, will not eat anything but fish. On one occasion, when in the capital to take part in Court services, he receives no fish and becomes very weak. On his way home, one of his disciples begs some fish for him from a house nearby. Afterwards the owner of this house dreams of seeing fearsome creatures marking all the houses around except his. Later that year a plague strikes the village and only this one household is spared.

68. (4/16)

The Preceptor Ryōen-bō, on his way home from the Hiyoshi shrine, recites a religious text and hears a voice from Lake Biwa add the final words. The voice identifies itself as belonging to the Assistant High Priest Jitsuin. After a discussion of Scripture, the voice apologizes for some wrong answers because it is speaking from beyond the

grave. It says that only because it is the voice of Jitsuin has it been able to answer as well as it has.

69. (4/17)

The High Priest Jie has not been able to hire enough workmen to build an ordination hall on Mt. Hiei. One day, when the guest of his local district governor, he sees vinegar being poured over beans to make them wrinkled and easy to handle. Jie wagers with the governor that he could not only pick up unwrinkled beans but even catch them in the air with chopsticks. He wins his bet and the governor has the ordination hall built for him.

70. (5/1)

A man has a statue of Jizō made, but before it has "had its eyes opened;" he puts it into a chest and forgets about it. One night in a dream he hears a voice from the street calling out to Jizo to ask if he is coming to a Jizo service the next day. The reply comes from the house that this is impossible since "my eyes are not yet open". Next morning, the man searches the house, remembers his uncompleted statue and has the finishing ceremony performed.

71. (5/2)

A bunch of courtiers pay an unheralded visit to the Fushimi Chief of the Bureau of Palace Repairs. Despite the surprise, they are offered fabulous hospitality without

special preparations, and each given a splendid horse as a present. Next day, they decide to go again. This time, there is no surprise and everything is prepared. There are still twenty horses in the stables. Such was the wealth of Toshitsuna, son of Lord Uji, and adopted son of Tachibana Toshitō.

72. (5/3)

Mochinaga, summoned by the Uji Minister of the Left, Fujiwara Yorinaga, excuses himself because he is observing a day of ritual seclusion. But he is told that such observances are out-of-date and that he must come. Ten days later, when a day of seclusion is being observed at the Minister's house, Mochinaga ignores the ban on visitors and forces his way in. Taken to task for this, he quotes, in the Minister's hearing, the Minister's own earlier opinion about observances.

73. (5/4)

The priest Hankyū of the Ryōgon Cloister on Mt. Hiei, believes so devoutly in Amida that he never turns his back on the west, never spits or urinates in that direction, or lets the rays of the setting sun touch his back.

74. (5/5)

Ietsuna and Yukitsuna, two <u>sarugaku</u> performers, are ordered to devise some unusual turn for their part in a

kagura at Court. Ietsuna at first proposes to amuse people by lifting his trousers and warming his private parts at the fire. Yukitsuna dissuades him, saying that it would be unseemly before the Emperor - then steals the limelight by himself doing the very thing which he had dissuaded Ietsuna from doing. Ietsuna however has his revenge at a kagura performance following a special Kamo Festival. Yukitsuna proposes to make a noise and have Ietsuna ask him what it represents, to which he will reply "A leopard". But at the performance, the wind is taken out of his sails when Ietsuna says, "What sort of leopard is that?"

75 (5/6)

When the Princess of Second Avenue, a daughter of Shirakawa, moves temporarily while her palace is being renovated, the sarugaku performer Kiyonaka, who is one of her attendants, refuses to move and continues living in the carriage shelter. He gets into trouble for brazenly using new as well as old timber for firewood. The same man on one occasion acts as a substitute rider in the procession to the Kasuga shrine, and when praised for having done it well, causes amusement by saying he deserves to be given the task permanently.

76. (5/7)

A priest, asked to write a calendar in kana for a young housewife, plays a joke on her by putting in curious entries like "a day to eat a lot of such-and-such a thing, if you have it". She follows it faithfully, even when it tells her, for two or three days on end, "Do not go to the lavatory".

77. (5/8)

A certain young man is anxious to disprove doubts of his being the true son of his late father. Thus when a former retainer of the father turns up, the heir is overjoyed to find that the moment he enters the room, the retainer bursts into tears. The reason the retainer gives is the resemblance to his late master. He is invited to live in the house, and arrangements are made to invite those who doubt the son's claim, so that they may be convinced. But when the time comes and the retainer is asked about the resemblance, he says only that the black hat appearing round the door reminded him of the father. There had been no other point of resemblance.

78. (5/9)

Anecdotes about two eminent High Priests connected with the Mii temple. One is very fat and never leaves the presence of the temple Buddha, performing his devotions

constantly. Even when a visitor is admitted, he has nothing to say to them - except, after a time, to ask them to leave. The other, though equally saintly and having magical powers, always has crowds of people visiting him - such as entertainers and vendors of all kinds of merchandise. He has a beloved acolyte, a young lad who had been an entertainer until the priest made him enter religion in order to have him permanently at his side. On one occasion, when he has the lad don his former clothes and perform what he remembers of his former turns, he is moved to tears of regret for having had the lad shave his head - and retires with him behind a screen.

79. (5/10)

A priest is offered refreshment by his host. The host has to leave him for a few moments and on returning notices that almost nothing is left of a whole dish of whitebait. As they talk, a whitebait appears out of the priest's nose. The priest tries to save the situation by commenting that "whitebait nowadays come down from the eyes and nose".

80. (5/11)

The Assistant High Priest Chūin evokes applause when, preaching at one of the Hiyoshi shrines, he substitutes "Gods" for "Buddhas" in a quotation from the Lotus, thus

"I rejoice and so do all the Gods likewise". His phrase is later imitated by another preacher at Hiyoshi. This is called by Chūin "dog-dung preaching" (because dogs eat human excrement and then produce dung).

81. (5/12)

Fujiwara Norimichi asks Koshikibu-no-naishi, though he has been visiting her less and less frequently, why she did not enquire after him when he was gravely ill. She replies with a poem saying that she had grieved to the point of death, since in life it was not for her to ask after him.

82. (5/13)

Kanō is a priest of Yokawa on Mt. Hiei but a hardened sinner, using temple funds for himself. Now at the foot of the pagoda lies an old disused statue of Jizō and occasionally on passing it he shows a modicum of respect, baring his head and bowing. When he dies, his superior feels sure he has gone to Hell. But it is found that the Jizō statue has disappeared, and a dream reveals to the superior that it has gone to Hell to intercede for Kanō. Another dream reveals that this Jizō, a little blackened by fire, has returned from Hell, where it has saved Kanō. Sure enough the feet of the statue are found to be burned.

83. (6/1)

Fujiwara Hirotaka dies and summoned before King Yama is told that his wife has asked for him to be brought there. She had died in childbirth and resented his escaping punishment for sins which both had committed and his neglect of prayers for her salvation. Hirotaka is restored to life after promising to pray for her. On leaving, however, he realizes that he does not know the identity of this King who sits in judgment behind a curtain, and going back he discovers that Yama and Jizō are one and the same; thus faith in Jizō saves us from Hell.

84. (6/2)

Uncanny facts about the Seson-ji. Originally the residence of the Momozono Great Counsellor, who dies there two days before the banquet to celebrate his appointment as a General of the Guards, it is later occupied by the Regent of First Avenue. He has a mound in the south-west corner of the garden removed and a temple built in the same spot. When the mound is dug away, a stone coffin is found, containing the body of a young and beautiful nun, with a gold cup beside her. There is a wonderful fragrance coming from the coffin. Then a wind blows and the body crumbles away, bones and all, leaving nothing but the gold cup. Shortly after the Regent dies.

85. (6/3)

Rushi, a rich Indian, is too miserly even to support his family. When hungry, he eats in secret. One day, he announces that he is going to make offerings to the God of Frugality, but repairs to a remote spot with the provisions - for himself. He is spotted by Taishaku (Indra) who assumes the likeness of Rushi and going to his home says he has had a change of heart and gives away his possessions. Just then the real Rushi returns, and seeing what has happened, complains to the King, who tries to establish his identity. Rushi's mother insists that her son must be the generous one. Rushi shows a mole on his skin - but of course Taishaku has one, too. Eventually they go before the Buddha, Taishaku resumes his original form and Rushi is cured of his miserliness.

86. (6/4)

For want of something better to do, a young samurai twice performs a sequence of a thousand daily visits to the Kiyomizu temple. Later, having lost at backgammon and having nothing with which to pay up, he offers to hand over to his opponent the accumulated merit of these visits. The other agrees, but insists that the bargain should be confirmed in writing and by a formal announcement made to the Bodhisattva at Kiyomizu temple. After three days of

ritual abstinence, he goes to Kiyomizu and receives the merit with due ceremony. Shortly afterwards the loser finds himself in prison, but the winner prospers in every way, gaining a wealthy wife and becoming a rich Government official.

87. (6/5)

A hawk-catcher one day spots a hawk's nest in a tall tree growing high up on the side of a very deep valley. When he judges the time to be ripe, he goes to steal the bird's young. He has climbed almost to the nest when a bough breaks and he falls, fortunately, however, not to the valley floor far below him, because he is caught up on a tree. There is no way of escape, either up or down. His servants look down into the valley but cannot see him and give him up for dead.

The man, a devout believer in Kannon, now recites the Kannon section of the Lotus Sūtra over and over again. In the middle of the passage "The great vow is deep as the ocean," there comes a rustling noise from below and he sees an enormous snake crawling up towards him. He watches in horror but it does not attack him, simply continuing upwards. It occurs to him to plunge his sword into it and be carried up, which he does. At the top the snake slithers away before he can extract his sword. Weak from his ordeal, he

just manages to struggle home, where he finds his own funeral service in progress. Next morning, on opening the sūtra, he sees sticking into it at the passage about "the great vow", the sword which he had plunged into the snake.

88. (6/6)

A poor priest of Mt. Hiei, having prayed for a hundred days at Kurama, has a dream telling him to go to Kiyomizu. After a hundred days there, he is told to go to Kamo. At the end of a hundred days at Kamo, it is revealed to him in a dream that the God is touched by his persistence and that he will receive some votive paper and some rice for scattering as offerings. He returns to Hiei in despair. Shortly afterwards someone tells him a messenger has arrived. He finds that the messenger has gone, but has left him a chest of white wood containing paper and rice. Both, he finds, are inexhaustible, and so he manages to live comfortably, if not grandly.

89. (6/7)

Someone living near the hot springs of Tsukuma in Shinano dreams that the next day Kannon will come to bathe there in the guise of a young man of about thirty, whose appearance is described in detail. Everyone is told of the dream and great preparations are made. At about two in the afternoon there appears a young man, exactly as

described, but very mystified by the adoration he is receiving, since he has come to recuperate after breaking his arm. On being told of the dream, he decides that, as an incarnation of Kannon, he ought to become a priest. His name being Batōnushi, he is called Batō (Hayagrīva) Kannon. He becomes a disciple of the Assistant High Priest Kachō at Yokawa, and then goes to Tosa.

90. (6/8)

Confucius converses with an old man whom he encounters in a wood and is told bluntly that he is stupid to meddle in the affairs of this world, like someone striving to escape from his shadow while out in the sun, instead of remaining in the shade, or like a man drowned while trying to pull a dead dog out of a river. Having delivered himself of this opinion, the old man departs, and Confucius bows respectfully after him, before returning home.

91. (6/9)

An Indian named Sōkyata is travelling on a ship with five hundred merchants when it is blown off course and goes aground on a strange shore. A group of charming women appear and take them to a compound with a number of separate houses. No men are to be seen, and each of the merchants lives with one of the women as his wife. The women sleep every afternoon, and one day while they are

asleep, Sōkyata investigates the compound. In one house, surrounded by a high wall, he discovers a number of dead and dying men, one of whom explains that they had lived with the women until a fresh group of merchants arrived, then they had been shut up, with the sinews of their knees cut to prevent escape, and are being used by the women - who are demons - as food. Sōkyata assembles the other merchants and breaks the news, after which they go down to the shore and pray to Kannon. A white horse comes over the waves to them and they all mount on its back, but as they leave, the women arrive and changing into their true form of rākṣasas ten feet high pursue them. However, all but one man succeed in escaping. On arrival in Western India, the horse vanishes.

Two years later Sōkyata's demon-wife comes to seek him out, looking even more beautiful than before. He refuses to listen to her pathetic pleas about her loneliness and threatens to kill her. She petitions the King, who, though warned by Sōkyata of her true nature, is captivated by her beauty and spends two or three days in dalliance with her. At the end of this time, the woman emerges with a hideous blood-flecked face - she has eaten the King.

Sōkyata is commissioned by the new King to lead an army to avenge his father. A number of men trick the

women by pretending to be merchants but they are closely followed by some two hundred soldiers. A battle ensues in which the demons are killed and their houses destroyed. Sōkyata is made ruler of the country and lives there, along with his two hundred soldiers.

92. (7/1)

In the heart of the mountains in India lives a rare deer, five-coloured and white-horned. This deer saves a man from drowning but refuses any reward, asking only for a promise never to reveal its existence. The man gives his promise, but breaks it, for when the queen dreams of such a deer and the King, to please her, offers great rewards in jewels and land to anyone finding it, the man comes forward to lead the King and his hunters to the right spot. The deer is warned, however, by its friend, a crow. Running straight up to the King's palanquin, it asks how its whereabouts had become known, and when it hears of the treachery of the man it had saved, it upbraids him, with tears of reproach in its eyes. The King is so moved that he has the man executed on the spot, and forbids all hunting of deer thenceforth.

93. (7/2)

Sata, a retainer of the Governor of Harima, Tameie, goes to collect taxes from a small district of the province.

After his return, he hears that there had been in the house of the district governor a woman from the capital who had been charitably taken into the household when abandoned by a lover, and who helped by doing sewing. Sata lusts after her and goes back to the district on the pretext of unfinished business. He flings his coat over a screen to the woman and orders her to sew up a tear in it. In no time, it is returned, unmended, but with a poem pinned to it containing a punning reference to the jātaka tale of Prince Sata or Satta who hung up his coat on the bamboo before giving his body to a starving tiger. Sata not only misses the point of the poem, but flies into a rage at what he considers an insulting use of a certain particle after his name. He raves at the woman and the district governor, and continues to rant about them back in the capital. Tameie, instead of siding with him, as he expects, dismisses him from his service and sends the woman presents to console her.

94. (7/3)

The Middle Counsellor of Third Avenue is a gifted, intelligent and artistic man, but shows no commonsense when a doctor advises him to eat watered rice in order to slim. When he calls the doctor in again because he continues to put on weight, the doctor finds that though he is eating

watered rice, he does so in vast quantities, along with similar quantities of other foods.

95. (7/4)

Tadaakira quarrels with some urchins at Kiyomizu and when cornered, escapes by leaping down from the high platform before the temple into the valley, holding a shutter under his arm as a kind of parachute.

96. (7/5)

A poor samurai worshipping Kannon at Hase refuses to leave without being granted some mark of her favour, and the priests, fearing defilement of the temple if he starves to death, take care of him. At the end of three weeks of prayer, it is revealed to him in a dream that Kannon is taking pity on him, despite the bad karma of his previous existences. He is to keep the first thing which comes to hand when he leaves.

Outside the gate, he stumbles and falls, and the first thing which comes to hand is a piece of straw at which he has clutched. Trusting in Kannon, however, he keeps it and walks on. When a horse-fly begins to bother him, he ties it up with the straw, and shortly afterwards a child peeping out of a carriage sees the fly and asks for it. When the samurai hands it over, the child's servants give him three oranges in exchange.

Further on he finds a lady exhausted with walking and faint with thirst, whose retainers ask where they can procure fresh water. The samurai tells them there is none for some distance around, but offers them the oranges with which to revive their mistress. She provides him with a good meal, rewards him temporarily with three rolls of silk and promises more if he will visit her when she is back in the capital.

Next he meets a man on a fine horse, but as he is admiring it, the horse falls down dead, and the man, leaving a servant to dispose of the carcase, rides off on another horse. The samurai senses the working of Kannon behind this incident, and ostensibly for the hide, buys the carcase from the servant for one roll of silk. Then he turns towards Hase and prays to Kannon for the horse to be restored to life. It revives and after buying a bit and saddle, he rides off. As he approaches the capital next day, he goes to a house and offers the horse for sale, for he is afraid that in the capital it might be recognized. As the owner of the house is just about to set out on a journey, he buys the horse, but not being able at the moment to pay the samurai in silk, offers him about seven or eight acres of ricefield in the district, together with some rice-plants and some rice. He also entrusts the house to him

until his return. If he does not return, it is to become the samurai's property.

Part of the rice-fields he lets off, himself cultivating the rest with wonderful success, so that he becomes rich. The house does become his property, and he founds a prosperous family.

97. (7/6)

Three tales connected with Lord Ononomiya. At his inaugural banquet as Prime Minister, a robe of fulled cloth is accidentally dropped into a stream, but such is the quality of the cloth of those days that it dries out like new.

Ononomiya is invited as guest of honour at a banquet given by Lord Nishinomiya, but being old and infirm he refuses to attend unless it is raining - since then he will not need to perform the ceremony of paying respects from the garden. Nishinomiya prays successfully for rain. (There follows a description of the scene, with its artificial wistaria flowers.)

The banquet of Lord Tominokōji seems unworthy, for the house is shabby and the entertainment poor. But this is amply made up for by the magnificence of the horses presented as gifts to the guests. (This last section in Uji-shūi makes no mention of Ononomiya, but in the

corresponding passage in Kojidan he is mentioned as guest of honour.)

98. (7/7)

Three archers in the service of the retired Emperor Shirakawa are of such fame that they are summoned by the Emperor Toba to serve in his bodyguard. On one occasion he gives them a target and orders them to shoot away the second black ring. They achieve this in a matter of three to four hours.

99. (8/1)

When the retinue of the Uji Minister of the Left passes the carriage of a nobleman, which has been halted, the outriders show respect by dismounting - all save one, Mochinaga, who later explains that the nobleman had not observed the proper etiquette. His carriage should have been turned to face the oncoming person of superior rank, and the oxen unyoked.

100. (8/2)

Lord Hosshō-ji hears shouts outside his residence during a violent and damaging storm. Looking out he sees one of his retainers, Shimotsuke Takemasa, who has not taken shelter but has stayed out in the storm to deal with the exigencies of the situation. This so impresses his master that he presents him with a horse.

101. (8/3)

A priest from Shinano, after being properly ordained at the Tōdai-ji, settles down at Mt. Shigi where he builds a small chapel to enshrine the small image of Bishamon (Vaiśravaṇa) which he has conjured up by magic. Nearby lives a rich man who regularly fills the holy man's begging bowl whenever it comes magically flying through the air to fetch food. One day the rich man is busy in his storehouse when the bowl arrives and he tosses it aside for the moment, but forgets it and locks up the storehouse with the bowl still lying in a corner. Shortly afterwards the storehouse rocks, rises off the ground and sails off on the bowl, to be deposited by the holy man's hut. The holy man keeps the storehouse but insists on returning, by means of the bowl, all the rich man's bales of rice.

When the Emperor Daigo is ill and no exorcist seems to have any success in curing him, it is suggested that this holy man should be summoned. But he refuses to come, though he agrees to pray for the Emperor and promises to send his Sword-robed Guardian Spirit to prove that it is his prayers which are having effect. Later the Emperor sees something glittering near him - it is this Guardian Spirit dressed in a cloak made of swords woven together - and gradually recovers. He wishes to reward the holy man

but all offers of promotion or material rewards are refused.

The holy man is visited by his sister, who had searched for him in vain near the Tōdai-ji but finally discovered his whereabouts miraculously in a dream. Following instructions, she finds him on a mountain to the south-west which is capped with purple cloud, and she stays to live with him. The remains of a padded undergarment which she had brought for him and of the storehouse are still much in demand by seekers of talismans.

102. (8/4)

The poet Toshiyuki, a good calligrapher who has made many copies of the Lotus Sūtra for others, though never for himself, dies, but does not realize that this has happened. Finding himself being dragged along by demons, he cannot understand why, but is told that a complaint has been made against him. A column of some two hundred warriors of indescribable fierceness meet them, and he learns from his captors that these are people who had engaged him to copy the sūtra for them but had acquired no merit thereby because of his sinfulness while doing the copying. They are now waiting to be allowed to slice him in pieces. A river of black water, Toshiyuki is told, is the ink with which the sūtras were written, washed off by the rain when they were thrown away as useless. They enter a gate amid a crowd of

other sinners being haled to judgement. Just as Toshiyuki is almost fainting with terror, his guard tells him to make a vow to copy the four books of the Konkō-myō (i.e. Suvarṇa-prabhāsa) Sūtra, which he does.

After going before the judge (Yama), he is about to be handed over to the vengeful warriors when he mentions his unfulfilled vow. His record is checked, and consists of nothing but sins, except for the very last entry - this vow. It secures him a respite and he comes back to life, resolved to fulfil his promise. But he slips into his old ways again and fritters away his chance, dying with the vow still unfulfilled.

Later he appears to his friend Ki no Tomonori in a dream, looking a ghastly sight, and reveals that he is undergoing torment in Hell. He asks Tomonori to find the paper on which he had intended but never managed to copy the sūtra and have a certain priest in the Mii temple copy it on his behalf. When Tomonori visits the priest, he finds that he has had a similar dream, and been requested by Toshiyuki to copy the sūtra. The request is carried out, and later dreams show Tomonori and the priest that Toshiyuki has been relieved of much of his torment.

103. (8/5)

Legends about the Kegon service at the Tōdai-ji.

The first preacher is said to have been an old mackerel seller and the eighty mackerel he had for sale are said to have turned into the eighty volumes of the Kegon Sūtra. During the service he had simply vanished, and to this day this is simulated by the preacher going out at the back door while the service is still in progress. The pole on which the fish had been carried was stuck into the ground and became a silver birch, which flourished or withered in accordance with the fortunes of the temple. This tree was burnt down when the Heike fired the temple.

104. (8/6)

A holy man on Mt. Atago has nightly visions of the Bodhisattva Fugen (Samanta-bhadra) riding on an elephant. He invites a certain hunter, who out of reverence for him regularly brings him gifts of food, to stay with him and see the vision, which he believes is the reward of faith. The hermit's boy-attendant reports also having seen the apparition.

Just after midnight, despite a raging storm, it is as though the moon is rising, the cell is flooded with light and the Bodhisattva approaches, stopping before the cell. The hunter is suspicious, feeling that he and the boy, not possessing the hermit's holiness, could hardly expect to see such a vision. He shoots an arrow into the

Bodhisattva's breast, at which the light is extinguished and a noise, as of something making off, echoes round the valley. Next morning the hunter's suspicions are confirmed, for a trail of blood leads to the corpse of a large badger. The holy man had been tricked.

105. (8/7)

The very holy High Priest Jōkan of the Enryaku-ji recites the Sonshō dharani every night. One night an immortal named Yōshō hears him while flying overhead and descends to talk with him. (This immortal had formerly been a disciple of Jōkan, but had mysteriously vanished.) When Yōshō wishes to leave, he finds that the proximity of a human being has impaired his ability to fly, but he tells Jōkan to bring his censer near, and is carried skywards by the smoke.

106. (9/1)

An Imperial messenger named Michinori, on a mission to the north-east of Japan, is entertained en route by a district governor in Shinano. Unable to sleep, he wanders about the house and comes upon the wife of the governor in bed. She is so charming that he feels the urge to seduce her, but when he attempts to do so, he finds his penis has disappeared. He returns very mortified to his bed and sends his servants to her, one by one, not telling them,

however, what has happened to him. Each one returns crestfallen and bewildered. Next morning Michinori leaves the house before dawn, but before his party have gone far a messenger overtakes them, bringing a present from the district governor. When the box is opened, it contains mushroom-like things. These suddenly vanish, the messenger rides away, and they all find that their penises have been restored.

After completing his mission, Michinori stays at the same house on his way back to the capital and makes lavish presents to the governor, to persuade him to explain the mystery. The governor reveals that he had a similar experience when young, and afterwards learned the art of bringing it about. He promises to impart the secret to Michinori if he will return after going up to the capital.

When he comes back to Shinano, Michinori undergoes a week of ritual purification, then he is taken into the heart of the mountains and, on the bank of a river, made to perform a variety of things and take unspeakably wicked oaths. The governor goes off upstream, telling Michinori that he must clasp in his arms whatever comes floating down the river. A storm rises, and the first thing which comes along is a great serpent, so fearsome that he is paralysed with fear and unable to do anything. The governor

returns, very disappointed with him, but agrees to give him one more trial. This time an enormous boar appears and Michinori steels himself to grab it, only to find himself holding a billet of rotten wood. The governor returns to say that Michinori will not now be able to learn the art of making penises disappear but that he will teach him how to turn objects into something different. When Michinori returns to the Court, he is able to turn boots into puppies or sandals into carp. Word of his powers even reaches the Emperor (Yōzei) who himself learns how to conjure up miniature Kamo Festival processions.

107. (9/2)

A priest in China named Pao-chih (Japanese: Hōshi) is of such saintliness that the Emperor sends three artists each to paint a separate picture of him. As they are about to begin, the saint says he will show them his real form, and splitting apart the skin of his forehead, reveals the countenance of a golden Bodhisattva. When the Emperor sees the pictures, he sends a messenger to question the priest, but he has vanished. It is said he was no ordinary mortal.

108. (9/3)

The daughter of a once fairly comfortably-off family in Tsuruga lives in very straitened circumstances. Her

parents are dead, and though she has had several husbands, none of her marriages was successful. She is now alone in her dilapidated house. In despair she prays to the Kannon in the family chapel, and in a dream a priest tells her that a husband has been found for her and will arrive the next day.

The man who arrives is a handsome young fellow, with about twenty or thirty retainers and many other servants. They ask for lodging and camp out in the great house. The woman is very worried because she has no food to offer them. After nightfall, the young man comes to the place where she sleeps, and she does not resist him when he takes her into his arms, for she bears her dream in mind. He tells her that he has come to her because he has seen that she is the image of his dearly-beloved but now dead wife. He is on a journey to Wakasa, but will complete his business hurriedly in order to return to her. He makes her a gift of his coat, and when he departs leaves about five retainers and some servants behind.

The girl, having nothing with which to feed them, is at her wits' end, when she is unexpectedly visited by the daughter of a woman formerly employed in her father's kitchen, who says that she had long intended to pay her a visit. This woman, hearing of the lady's plight, offers

to make arrangements for the entertainment of the guests, and not only feeds those left behind but provides for when their master and his other retainers will return. When he comes again, he tells his new love that he will take her away as his wife. Wishing to reward the servant-woman, she gives her a red silk skirt, the one thing of value she has kept by her for use in the last resort.

Next morning, before leaving, she enters the chapel to pay her farewell respects to the family Kannon. There, across its shoulder, the statue is wearing the same red silk skirt which she had presented to her benefactress. She had been helped by Kannon in disguise.

109. (9/4)

A soldier-priest named Kūsuke has an image made but persuades the image-maker to wait for payment until it is completed, since if he (Kūsuke) were to pay first and then there should be a delay, he would become angry and lose the merit of having the image made. He also insists that the work be done at his house, but provides no food, since if the image-maker had been working at his own home he would have had to provide his own food, anyway. Kūsuke even refuses to advance the cost of materials. When the work is complete, Kūsuke contrives to leave the image-maker alone with his wife, then enters and attacks him, pretending

that he has been attempting to seduce her. The image-maker runs away and stays away, for fear of his life.

Kūsuke succeeds in similar trickery when the image is dedicated. He offers the officiating priest a horse and some silk and fine food, but pretends to consider himself as the priest's servant and takes all the things away.

110. (9/5)

Another curious story of images. Masayuki, a retainer of one Tsunemasa, has had some made and gives a feast in celebration. A guest of his master's inquires what is going on and the next day he too is entertained. But the priest who is to officiate complains that he has not been told the identity of the Buddhas to be dedicated. Masayuki is called, and he says he does not know, but the image-maker should. The latter, however, says he does not. He had simply been told to carve some Buddhas, and had given them plain round heads. It was to be left to the priest to name them.

111. (9/6)

A Governor of Ōsumi province is about to have one of his district governors birched for repeated neglect of his duties, but takes pity on his old age and pardons him when he composes a punning poem on his feelings at seeing the birch (shimoto). The birch, it says, strikes a chill of

fear into him, though one whose head is so covered with snow, i.e. white hair, should not be bothered by frost (shimo).

112. (9/7)

The son-in-law of the head of the Daian-ji occasionally remains there in the morning, after his nocturnal visits to his wife. On one such day, he is asleep and dreams that he hears a great hubbub and finds the whole of his father-in-law's household howling bitterly and drinking molten copper. As he watches, a maid fetches his wife, who also drinks. Then he is offered some - and awakes to find the maid offering him food. From his father-in-law's quarters he can hear the noise of feasting, and he realizes that this is at the expense of temple funds. In disgust he leaves, never to return.

113. (9/8)

A confidence trickster marries off his extremely ugly son by a trick. The girl's rich father is given to understand that a very handsome young man wishes to marry her. The son makes the requisite nocturnal visits to her with his face covered, then just before the ceremony of discovery by her parents, one of the tricksters climbs on to the roof and shouts out, pretending to be a demon very angry because the young man is visiting a girl whom he

himself has possessed for three years. He gives the young man the choice of surrendering his life or his good looks. The girl's parents naturally want him to save his life, and so he is able to show his ugly face and pretend that he has been disfigured by the demon.

114. (10/1)

When the Ōten Gate is destroyed by fire, the Ban Great Counsellor (Ban Yoshio) casts suspicion on the Minister of the Left. The latter is finally acquitted for lack of evidence, but withdraws from public life. Now a certain guardsman had observed Ban leaving the Ōten Gate shortly before the fire was discovered, and so knew who was really responsible, but he had not revealed his knowledge, even before the Minister's acquittal, and afterwards, knowing that at least no innocent man would be punished, he had still kept his counsel. One day, this guardsman's boy has a quarrel with the child of Ban's steward. The steward separates them and begins mishandling the other's boy. The guardsman intervenes, and when the steward scoffs at him, saying he has the protection of the Great Counsellor, the guardsman retorts that but for his silence, the Great Counsellor would not now be holding his position. This is overheard, the story gets around, and eventually the guardsman is summoned before the Emperor and forced to

reveal what he knows. Ban is then sent into exile.

115. (10/2)

Myōsen, a priest of the Yamashina temple, is the only man who knows the traditional melody Hōyōraku. One night he gives orders that the gate should be left unlocked, since he may have a visitor. Sure enough, a flautist from Nara, named Koresue, arrives. Myōsen asks if he has come to learn this melody. He says he has, and Myōsen teaches it to him.

116. (10/3)

Myōsen's chanting at a ceremonial reading of the Dai-Hannya Sūtra so impresses the Emperor Horikawa who is playing the flute that he asks if Myōsen can play, since he can follow so well. Myōsen then plays such a skilful accompaniment to the Emperor's chanting that he is presented with the Emperor's instrument. This is said to belong now to the head of the Yahata (i.e. Hachiman) Shrine, Yukikiyo.

117. (10/4)

Robbers break into the Yasaka temple but are unable to steal anything, as they are rendered incapable of movement by Jōzō's spells, and are held thus until dawn.

118. (10/5)

A former Governor of Kawachi loans an ox to someone. This man, at the Hizume bridge near Yodo, accidentally

drives his cart over the edge and it plunges into the river, but the ox stands firm, and though the traces snap, it is not pulled in. Soon afterwards this ox vanishes without trace. Its owner sees in a dream a relative of his, one Sadayū, who had recently died. Sadayū explains that he has to go daily to the Hizume bridge to suffer torment, but his load of sin is so unbearably heavy that he has borrowed this immensely strong ox to carry him. He will return it at a certain time on a certain day. This does indeed happen, the ox coming wandering back looking utterly exhausted.

119. (10/6)

A man and his wife in Mimasaka province are very sad because their beautiful daughter is due to be the next victim for a living sacrifice to a snake and an ape deity. A young warrior-huntsman from the east of Japan meets them while passing through the place, and hearing of their sad plight volunteers to save the girl by taking her place, provided that he may marry her. He tells them to go on with preparations for the sacrificial ceremony and not to reveal his presence. Meanwhile, he trains two dogs to kill apes.

When the time comes, the hunter conceals himself and his dogs in the wooden chest used to transport the victim. The sanctuary is opened, the chest pushed in and the gate

locked once more. There are in all some two hundred apes, and as the leader comes to open the chest, the hunter releases his dogs, and pins down the leader with a sword at his throat, while the remainder take refuge in trees. Threatening them again and again with death, he makes the leader of the apes and the chief priest promise never again to exact human sacrifices, and insists that the girl and her parents must not be harmed.

From this time on human sacrifices in that province cease, wild boars and deer being sacrificed instead. The hunter, who is the son of an influential family, lives happily ever after with his wife.

120. (10/7)

Prince Toyosaki shows remarkable ability at forecasting Court appointments. His judgement is such that appointments contrary to his forecast come to be criticized, and even the Emperor, before making appointments, has enquiries made as to what Toyosaki has forecast.

121. (10/8)

When a courtier named Tadataka dies suddenly at Court, Lord Ononomiya, at that time still only of comparatively junior rank, saves him from shame by openly giving instructions for the body to be removed by the eastern gate but secretly having it removed by the western gate, so

that there are no spectators. Tadataka appears to him in a dream and thanks him.

122. (10/9)

Ozuki Mochisuke, a Professor of Mathematics, has enemies because he is so clearly destined for a brilliant future. Warned by a divine revelation, Mochisuke takes advice as to the days when he should practise ritual seclusion. A diviner engaged by a rival says that a spell put on Mochisuke on such a day will be particularly effective, even if Mochisuke only hears the spell, without looking outside. Together the two go to Mochisuke's house, and the rival pretends to have come on urgent business, eventually persuading the reluctant Mochisuke to put his head out of the door. The rival can think of nothing to say but that he is going away to the country, and Mochisuke angrily retreats into the house - but too late, for the spell has been cast and he very soon dies. (By poetic justice, the rival himself is later killed in an accident.)

123. (10/10)

An old priest reveals how he was once the leader of a band of pirates. On one occasion, he says, they had fallen in with a single ship which seemed well-laden and sparsely manned and which followed them about for protection,

its crew not realizing that they were pirates. The ship was attacked and its crew mercilessly killed. Even the young priest who had been sitting on top of the cabin chanting a sūtra was thrown into the sea, his sūtra box still hanging from his neck. As he held the sūtra up out of the water, nothing could make him sink, even banging over the head with an oar. Then the pirate chief saw something that he found no-one else could see - two or three beautiful young boys carrying white wands and supporting the priest in the water. The priest was finally pulled out of the water and was found to be on his way to the capital for ordination. He said that while holding the sūtra out of the water his arms had seemed light and unusually long. When the pirate chief asked about the boys, of whose presence the priest had said he was unaware, the priest supposed they must have been guardian spirits of the Lotus Sūtra, which he had been chanting since the age of seven. The pirate was so moved that he abandoned piracy and accompanied the priest, who had given up the idea of continuing on to the capital, back to his monastery, in order to enter religion himself.

124. (11/1)

A certain eccentric-looking courtier is always the butt of jokes and has a nickname (Aotsune) based on his

greenish complexion. The Emperor Murakami disapproves of this nickname, and the other courtiers agree that anyone using it must pay a forfeit by providing refreshments. When Fujiwara Kanemichi forgets himself and uses the name he arranges to pay the forfeit in two days' time, and appears wearing nothing but green, with servants dressed in green serving foods of a green colour on green plates and trays. Even the Emperor is amused when he hears what is going on.

125. (11/2)

A courtier named Fujiwara Yasusuke, younger brother of Yasumasa, is leader of a gang of thieves. He lures vendors of all kinds of merchandise into his house and pretends to want to buy their goods, then has them taken to a storehouse at the rear of the house, where they are pushed into a deep pit. None ever leaves the place alive.

126. (11/3)

A white-haired old priest, accompanied by two boys, visits Seimei and asks to be taught yin-yang magic. Seimei suspects that the priest's purpose is to test him and secretly casts a spell which makes the boys vanish. The priest confesses his real intention and begging Seimei to bring the boys back, asks to become his pupil.

127. (11/3)

On a visit to the High Priest of Hirosawa, Seimei is asked by some young priests if he can kill a man by magic. He says he can, though it is difficult. But he can kill small things quite easily. He demonstrates (while declaring it to be wicked) by killing some frogs.

He is said to have had no servants but to have employed magic to move shutters or shut the gate.

128. (11/4)

Yorinobu, marching to attack the rebellious Taira Tadatsune, finds his way barred by a creek. Tadatsune has had all boats removed, and a detour will take several days, but if only some direct way across can be found, a surprise attack can be made. Though he has never been in the neighbourhood before, Yorinobu remembers a family tradition that there is a ford across this creek, on a kind of dike only a few feet below the surface of the water. Thus the whole army is able to cross, the water reaching only to their horses' bellies. Tadatsune, taken by surprise, surrenders and Yorinobu retires without attacking.

129. (11/5)

The retired Emperor Shirakawa orders his guard to stage a mock procession, as of a provincial governor going to his province. One Yukitō, anxious not to appear before

time, sends a servant to keep watch. Hours later the servant returns, in raptures over the splendour of the show. He had not realized that he was meant to keep watch in order that his master could appear in the procession at the right time. Yukitō is kept under house-arrest for his absence until the Emperor learns the reason.

130. (11/6)

A Nara priest named Ein puts up a notice announcing (falsely) that at such-and-such a time a dragon will rise out of Sarusawa Pond. Such great crowds of people flock to see the event that even Ein himself thinks something may happen - but when the sun goes down nothing has happened. On his way home, Ein meets a blind man on a narrow log-bridge, and his comment on how dangerously dark (mekura) it is is misunderstood by the blind man (mekura) as a reflection on himself. The latter then comments that it is too dark to see one's nose before one (hanakura). This word hanakura happens to coincide with the nickname by which Ein was known - hana for his long nose and kura because as a layman he had been a kurōdo (in kana written kuraudo).

131. (11/7)

A poor woman praying to Kannon at Kiyomizu dreams that she has been given the curtain in front of the image.

She wakes to find this a fact, but she thinks the curtain a worthless gift and refuses to accept it. Twice more the same thing happens, until she is warned that to scorn the gift again will be an insult to the Bodhisattva, and she takes it home. When she makes herself a dress with it, her fortunes take a turn for the better. She receives gifts, law-suits go her way and she marries a good husband. She keeps the dress to wear whenever she wishes to ensure success in her activities.

132. (11/8)

Tachibana Norimitsu is accosted one night by men who refuse to let him pass because, they say, they are of high-rank (they are, of course, robbers). He takes to his heels and though pursued, manages to cut down three pursuers, one after another. Making his way back to the Palace, he spends the night in some trepidation lest it should be discovered that he is responsible for the killings. Next morning, however, when he goes with other courtiers to see the corpses which have been found, there is a stranger on the spot, bragging that it was he who killed the men.

133. (11/9)

A great crowd of people collect to watch a holy man who has announced that he will drown himself in the Katsura river. After solemn ritual preparations lasting one

hundred days, he goes to the river on a cart, an object of adoration for ordinary people, but somewhat suspect by the more intelligent when he is heard to complain that the rice being thrown gets in his eyes and nose, and in any case would have been better sent in bags to his temple. Again he puzzles people by saying that as it is only four o'clock it is too early yet for him to go to Paradise. Many spectators drift away, then when he eventually does enter the water from his boat, his foot catches in a rope and he is pulled out spluttering and coughing. Telling the man who has rescued him that he will speak well of him in Paradise, he climbs up the bank and makes off, pursued by a hail of stones from angry spectators.

134. (11/10)

St. Nichizō encounters a demon in the mountains who loudly laments that he is being consumed by the fires of anger. Four or five hundred years before, he had been a man, but had died bearing ill-will against someone, and had thus become a demon. He has by now killed his enemy and all his descendants, so that there is no outlet for his anger. He goes away, leaving Nichizō so moved that he performs rites to relieve the demon's burden of sin.

135. (11/11)

A stubborn old countryman remains seated on his horse

just off the road, when Yasumasa, Governor of Tango, passes on the way to his province. Yasumasa's retainers wish to pull him from his horse and reprimand him, but Yasumasa restrains them, seeing signs that the old man is a redoubtable warrior. Later Ōya Saemon-no-jō Munetsune meets the procession and explains that the old man is his father, who is ignorant of etiquette.

136. (11/12)

A priest shelters for a night in the shrine of a guardian deity of travellers. About midnight he hears a clatter of hooves and a voice calls out asking the deity if he is going to the Muzō-ji next day, when a host of heavenly beings are meeting to welcome a new Buddha.

The priest next day delays his journey to investigate. There is no-one about at the temple and he remains for a long time seated before the Buddha. Eventually a white-haired, bent old man comes along, followed by a nun carrying a tub. The old man makes obeisance to the Buddha while the nun fetches a priest, then he asks to be made a priest himself. In the tub is hot water for shaving his head, and the ceremony is carried out there and then.

137. (12/1)

Daruma (Bodhidharma) in India finds two priests who spend their whole time playing go. Everyone else dislikes

them, thinking them without faith. But Daruma sees that as they play each in turn disappears and reappears, and he realizes that they have gained enlightenment. They explain that they use black to symbolize worldly passions, and hope that it will lose to white, symbolizing enlightenment.

138. (12/2)

An Indian saint named Daiba (Kānadeva) goes to visit another, the famous Ryūju (Nāgārjuna). At Ryūju's gate, he tells one of the disciples that he has come because he has heard how profound is the master's wisdom. The disciple conveys this message to Ryūju, who sends him out with a small box filled with water. Daiba returns it after dropping a needle into the water. On seeing this, Ryūju has him admitted and treated with great ceremony. The reason, he explains later, is that the water signified his own wisdom, and Daiba was urged to float his wisdom thereon. The needle in the water signified the wisdom of Daiba, with which he would probe the bottom of the great sea of Ryūju's wisdom.

139. (12/3)

The High Priest Jie is on his way to conduct an ordination ceremony when he turns back and goes home. Much to the astonishment and disappointment of the waiting crowd,

he sends a message that the ceremony is postponed. At about two in the afternoon, a gale blows up and the southern gate of the temple collapses. Jie had foreseen and averted an accident.

140. (12/4)

Jakushin, otherwise known as Naiki-no-shōnin (the "Secretary-Saint", from the post he had held before entering religion), and originally as Yoshishige Yasutane, while on a journey raising funds encounters a priest who is also a diviner, wearing a paper cap and performing a Shinto purification rite. Taxed with breaking the commandments of the Buddha, the diviner replies that poverty leaves him no alternative, since he must feed his family. Jakushin, feeling that saving a sinner is more meritorious than building temples, presents the contribution he has collected to the diviner.

141. (12/5)

Kinsue goes to visit the priest Eijitsu, who is said to have the power of curing ague. Eijitsu is at first reluctant to see him, because he (Eijitsu) has been eating garlic for a cold. But Kinsue insists, and before long, Eijitsu's sūtra-chanting cures his ague.

142. (12/6)

St. Kūya (Ryōgen) tells the High Priest Yokei why he

has a twisted left elbow. It had been broken and deformed in his boyhood when his mother, in a fit of rage, threw him to the ground. Yokei straightens it by magic incantations, while black smoke pours from his head as he does so. Kūya has three disciples with him, one who collects old rope to mix with plaster for repairing old temples, one who collects and washes melon-rinds to give to those in prison, and one who collects used and discarded paper to make into fresh paper for sūtra copying. The last of these three is presented to Yokei as a disciple.

143. (13/7)

St. Zōga is summoned to administer the tonsure to the Empress Dowager of Third Avenue. Much to everyone's surprise, for he is stubborn and irascible, he agrees, but having performed the ceremony, he horrifies them by shouting out that he supposes the Empress insisted on choosing him because he has a long penis, though it is now all shrivelled up. Finally, when leaving, he says that he has diarrhoea and defecates on the verandah. Despite such eccentricities, it is said, he became steadily more venerated.

144. (12/8)

Shōhō, of the Tōdai-ji, is trying to persuade the very wealthy but miserly deputy-head of the temple to make gifts to the other priests, and offers to do anything the other

stipulates if he will do so. The other, certain that he is asking the impossible, says that on the day of the Kamo Festival Shōhō must ride through Kyōto on a scraggy cow wearing nothing but a loincloth and with a dried salmon girded on like a sword. To his great surprise, Shōhō accepts the challenge. When the Emperor hears of this, he promotes Shōhō to the rank of High Priest.

145. (12/9)

Some young courtiers visit a holy man who claims to have eaten only greenstuff and no cereal for over fifty years. Suspicious, some of them take a look at his excrement and find that it comes from cereal. When the holy man is out, they search his room and find a hole beneath the floor in which is a cloth bag containing rice.

146. (12/10)

A courtier named Suenao falls ill but when he is a little better he comes to the Palace to say he should be able to return to duty in a day or two. Three days later, however, he sends a poem, regretting that he had said this when he should rather have said farewell for ever. That same day he dies.

147. (12/11)

In a competition to compose a poem embodying the word <u>hichiriki</u> ('oboe'), no-one at Court produces a very

satisfactory result. A young woodcutter, discussing this with his fellows, produces a poem on the falling of cherry blossom including the words ikutabi chiriki (these, when written out in kana, without any sign of voicing for the syllable bi, are seen to contain the required word).

148. (12/12)

Seeing a very poor retainer of his shivering with cold one snowy day, the Governor of Echizen has him compose a poem on being naked, and is so pleased with the poem that he presents the man with the coat he is wearing. The Governor's wife also presents a coat. Shortly afterwards the retainer goes off to a venerable priest in the mountains, makes him a gift of the coats and begs to be made a priest. (He had long wished to enter religion but had had nothing to offer as a gift.)

149. (12/13)

Tsurayuki's child dies while he is Governor of Tosa. On his return to the capital, he leaves a poem about the loss of this child (the famous one beginning Miyako e to omou ni tsukete...) written on a post of his house, where it is still preserved today.

150. (12/14)

Tsurayuki composes a poem about fireflies, in the style of a man from the East.

151. (12/15)

The retired Emperor Uda is living in a house which had belonged in earlier times to a Minister of the Left, Minamoto Tōru, son of the Emperor Saga. The ghost of the Minister appears to Uda and complains that the Emperor's presence leaves too little room for himself. The Emperor is unperturbed and replies firmly that he has every right to be there, since the house had been presented to him by the Minister's descendants. At this the ghost vanishes.

152. (12/16)

Confucius meets an eight-year-old child who asks him which is farther away, the place where the sun sets or Lo-yang. Confucius says the place where the sun sets, but the boy greatly impresses the sage by pointing out that that place is visible, whereas Lo-yang is not. Everyone says this could have been no ordinary boy.

153. (12/17)

Another Chinese story, of a woodcutter named Chêng Hung from the neighbourhood of Mt. Hai-chi (Japanese: Kaikei). He is such a model son to his parents that the very wind favours him, blowing his boat in the morning across to the island where he works and changing to blow him back in the evening. The fame of his filial piety reaches the Emperor (Hsien Tsung of Former Han), who makes

him a minister.

154. (12/18)

A poor man in China consults a priest on how to acquire wealth. He is told to have sincerity - i.e. to have faith in Buddhism. The man concentrates his thoughts on the Buddha day and night, and eventually divine protection is vouchsafed to him, and he prospers. At his death, he concentrates his mind on the Buddha and goes to Paradise.

155. (12/19)

A Japanese in Silla, a fugitive from the displeasure of his master, Muneyuki, Governor of Iki, finds himself in a district terrorized by a tiger. When he says that he could kill it, his words are reported to the provincial governor, who promises to reward him handsomely; Koreans, the governor says, are too concerned for their own safety to be able to perform such a feat. The common people do not expect the Japanese to last long, but he intrepidly faces up to the tiger when it crouches and springs at him, and he succeeds in shooting it. Everyone then sings the praises of Japanese warriors, of whom ten or so would be a match for a hundred or a thousand tigers; Koreans, it is said, kill tigers slowly, with poisoned darts, but Japanese kill them outright.

156. (12/20)

A Japanese envoy to China tracks a tiger which has carried off and eaten his child, following it by its footprints in the snow to a cave in the mountains, where he kills it with his sword. Everyone admires the skill and bravery of this Japanese, for a Chinese would have been hard put to it even to escape, let alone kill the tiger.

157. (12/21)

A certain noble (perhaps the Great Counsellor of Fourth Avenue) likes to help people in distress. For instance, he procures the release of a thief, who had been arrested by the police, because his crime was not serious. On the other hand, when he inquires about a priest under arrest, he finds the priest's crime, murder, too grave for him to interfere. This priest, however, is later released under an amnesty.

One night the noble is kidnapped by a gang of men who take him to the mountains and begin to burn him alive. The priest is taking his revenge. All at once, there comes a hail of arrows, the gang are scattered and the man whose release the noble had procured arrives to save him. He had kept the noble under constant watch in order to protect him.

158. (12/22)

A guard at the house of the retired Emperor Yōzei

feels a hand scrabbling at his face and finds a ghost, in the guise of an old man, who says he is the younger brother of Urashima Tarō and asks him to erect a shrine for him. The guard says he must first consult his master, whereupon the ghost attacks him and gobbles him up.

159. (12/23)

Every night at the Palace of the retired Emperor Go-Toba something flies in from the mountains, emitting a glow. All efforts to identify it have failed, but when one Kagekata succeeds in shooting it down it proves to have been an old, bald flying-squirrel.

160. (12/24)

A man spending the night with a prostitute in a stand used for viewing the Kamo Festival hears someone passing by chanting, "All earthly things are transitory" (shogyō mujō). Looking out, he finds it is a demon as tall as a house and with the face of a horse. When the demon pokes its head through the shutters, he prepares to fight, thinking it is about to seize him. But it simply says, "You had a good look, eh!" and "Take a good look." The man never spends a night in that place again.

161. (13/1)

A certain officer of the Guards known as "the man with the long cap-strings" (i.e. Taira Sadabumi), while

sheltering from a shower in a hut on the western outskirts of the capital, sits on a flat rock shaped like a Chinese-style chest. Idly banging a pebble against the rock, he discovers that it is gold. He conceals this fact, but finds out from the woman of the house that the hut stands on what had once been the site of the storehouses of a rich man's house. The rock had been unearthed when the ground was being ploughed. It was a nuisance in the house, but too heavy for her to dispose of. Sadabumi offers to take it away and sends for a cart. Having a late qualm of conscience, he gives the woman his coat in exchange for the rock, much to her surprise. The gold makes him very rich. He buys, very cheaply, a piece of swampy ground which the owner thinks useless, and builds himself a house there after reclaiming the land with a covering of reeds and earth. These reeds he has also acquired very cheaply by taking four or five boats to the Naniwa district and offering sake and rice-gruel to any passers-by who do work for him, such as cutting a few reeds or pulling tow-rope. 162. (13/2)

The poet Motosuke is taking part in the Kamo Festival when his horse stumbles, he falls and his hat falls off, revealing a oompletely bald head. The watching nobles think it very funny, but Motosuke delivers a solemn lecture

to them, explaining how the accident happened and moreover referring to precedents for the matter.

163. (13/3)

Toshinobu is taking part in an Imperial procession to Iwashimizu. As they pass Terado, at Nagaoka, the word goes round that this is a spot haunted by a spirit which plays tricks on people. As Toshinobu walks on, he finds that he is being tricked - the rest of the procession has vanished, and however far he walks, he makes no progress, constantly coming back to the same place. He spends the night under the eaves of a hut and next morning returns to the capital.

164. (13/4)

A boy in India is sent by his father with a large sum of money to buy some goods, but he meets a man transporting five turtles in a boat, and hearing that they are to be killed; he uses the money to buy them, in order to release them. On his way home, he hears that the man's boat has capsized and he has been drowned. Arriving home, he is asked by his father why he had sent the money back. Five men in black had come, each bringing some of it. The money is still wet. The turtles had recovered the money when the boat capsized.

165. (13/5)

A legend said to be about the famous scholar of Chinese, Kibi no Mabi, though the name given in Uji-shūi is Hiki no Makibito. He is the son of a district governor in Bitchū. He has consulted a clairvoyante and has just had a dream interpreted when the son of the governor of the province arrives on a similar errand. Makibito, withdrawing to an inner room, overhears his dream and its auspicious interpretation, foretelling advancement to ministerial rank. When the other young man has gone, Makibito persuades the clairvoyante to sell him the dream. He is told to enter just like the other and recite it to her exactly as he had heard it told. The dream comes true. Makibito becomes a man of learning, is sent to China and then made a minister. The other young man never achieves any official post.

166. (13/6)

A thief on the run enters the house of a sister of the wrestler Ōi Mitsutō and seizing her from behind, holds his sword against her belly, thinking that with her as a hostage he will be safe. But for all her slim femininity, she is twice as strong as her brother. While the man is holding her, she is idly pressing some arrow-shafts against the floor and snapping them as if they were pieces of rotten wood. The thief realizes her strength, lets go of her

and makes a dash for freedom, but is captured and brought back. Mitsutō tells him he is lucky to have escaped death, and lets him go.

167. (13/7)

A Chinese official and his wife have a beautiful daughter who dies in her teens. About two years later, the official, who is about to leave the capital to take up a post as a provincial governor, gives a banquet at which it is proposed to serve mutton. But the night before the banquet his wife has a dream in which her daughter reveals that she has been reborn as a sheep, the very one to be killed for the banquet next day. Next morning the mother goes to the kitchen and instructs the cook not to kill the sheep until her husband returns and she has consulted him. The husband however is only angry at the delay and orders the sheep to be killed at once. The guests come in and, seeing a beautiful girl hanging by her hair and calling to them to save her, they go off to speak to their host. But meantime, to the cook the girl still looks like an ordinary sheep and he kills it without more ado. The sheep is cooked, but the guests refuse to eat it. Immediately afterwards the girl's father falls ill and dies.

168. (13/8)

Jōkaku is head of the Izumo-ji north of the capital, a temple which has fallen into decay. In a dream, he sees his father, the previous head, who tells him that he is now a catfish living under the roof-tiles. But the temple is going to blow down in two days' time and he is anxious that his son should protect him from harm and release him in the Kamo river.

A tremendous storm arises, the temple does blow down, and as it collapses, a large number of fish are thrown out from the pools of rainwater in which they have been living. A catfish about three feet long approaches Jōkaku, who kills it and takes it indoors. He brushes aside his wife's objections, saying that it is better for this fish which had been his father to be eaten by his own family than by another, then he cooks it and eats it. It tastes wonderful - but a bone sticks in his throat and chokes him.

169. (13/9)

A very devout holy man on Mt. Ibuki in Mino hears a voice, which he thinks to be that of Amida, telling him that he will the next day be taken to Paradise. This really does seem to happen, with all the usual miraculous manifestations. But about a week later, he is found, out in the mountains, by some priests who had been his servants -

he is naked and tied to the branch of a tree. He protests when they untie him, saying that Buddha has instructed him to wait like this. But they insist and take him home, where he soon dies. He had been tricked by a goblin (tengu).

170. (13/10)

Jikaku (alias Ennin) is in China studying Buddhism at the time when Buddhists are being persecuted, under Wu Tsung, and he has himself to flee. On one occasion he hides among a group of statues, invoking the aid of Fudō. His pursuers find a new image of Fudō and when they suspiciously lift it down to examine it, it changes back into Jikaku. However, as a foreigner, he is released.

Far away from that place, he comes to a house surrounded by a high earth wall. Being told by someone at the gate that this is an excellent place to hide in, he enters, to find rows of houses and noisy crowds of people. From one house he hears groans, and peeping through the fence, he sees a number of people bound and hung up over vessels into which their blood is draining. At another house he finds people lying pale and emaciated. One of these explains the place to him. It is called Dyeing Castle. People coming there are given drugs depriving them of speech and fattening drugs, then their blood is

drained off for use as dye. Jikaku must avoid eating the blackish objects like sesame seeds which will be given to him in his food, for they are the drugs. When Jikaku is fed, he pretends to eat everything, but hides the seeds and throws them away. He emits groans to deceive his captors, then, turning towards the north-east, he implores the aid of the Three Treasures of his home monastery. A big dog appears, pulls him along by the sleeve and takes him out through a water-gate. Once outside, the dog vanishes and Jikaku makes good his escape. When he comes to a village and tells where he has been, he is regarded as particularly holy, since no-one could have escaped from such a place without the help of the Buddha.

Later, when the persecution of Buddhism ceases, Jikaku completes his studies and returns to Japan after ten years in China.

171. (13/11)

A Chinese priest in India is travelling round seeing the sights. Observing a cow entering a cave, he follows it through and emerges into a sunlit place which seems quite out of this world, with a profusion of colourful flowers of an unknown kind, which the cow eats. The priest tries one and finds it like ambrosia. But when he eats a number of them he swells up and cannot get back

through the entrance by which he had gone into the cave. His appeals to passers-by are unheard, and he finally dies, later turning to stone, in the shape of a head protruding from the cave-mouth. This is recorded in Hsüan-tsang's diary of his travels in India.

172. (13/12)

The Emperor of China tests the powers of Jakushō (alias the Lay Priest of Mikawa) by giving a banquet at which there are no waiters and all the venerable priests who are guests are expected to use magic to send their bowls for food. When Jakushō's turn comes, he says he has not yet acquired this art, but is jeered at, and so he invokes the aid of the Gods and the Three Treasures (i.e. Buddhas) of Japan and so national pride is saved.

173. (13/13)

A hermit-priest living by the Kiyotaki river has become rather self-satisfied about his magic powers (he is able to send his pitcher flying to fetch water). One day a strange pitcher appears at the river and he follows it to trace its owner. A long way upstream, in idyllic surroundings, he finds a hut in which there is an aged priest asleep. To test him, he casts a spell setting the hut on fire. Still in his sleep, the old priest picks up his sprinkling rod and sprinkles perfumed water around,

whereupon the hut ceases to burn but the priest's clothes go up in flames. These are only extinguished by a further sprinkling from the rod. The first priest then asks if he may become the old priest's disciple. Presumably the latter had been sent by the Buddha, as an even holier man than the first priest, to cure him of his arrogance.

174. (13/14)

An Indian holy man named Upagupta (Japanese: Ubakutta) warns one of his disciples to keep away from women. The other disciples cannot understand how there is any need to warn this man, who is especially devout.

Once, when crossing a river, the disciple sees a woman swept off her feet by the stream, and though at first he attempts to ignore her, he eventually saves her and then finds himself lusting after her. As he has saved her life, she does not refuse him, and he is just about to enjoy her when he finds that he is embracing, not a woman, but his master. Upagupta holds him tightly between his legs shouting so that all shall witness the disciple's shame, then takes him back to the temple to tell all his fellows what has happened.

175. (14/1)

Hai-yün (Japanese: Kaiun), a priest of Mt. Wu-t'ai in China, takes a lad whom he meets on the road as a

disciple, in order to teach him about the Lotus Sūtra. During his lessons, a young priest is constantly coming in, and this Hai-yün tells him, is the Bodhisattva Mañjusrī, who lives on this mountain. Now Hai-yün warns the boy to remain aloof from women, and the boy observes this precept even when one day a beautiful woman asks him to lead her horse and falls off when it rears. He ignores her altogether, for which Hai-yün congratulates him, saying that Mañjusrī had taken the form of a woman to test him.

When the lad's study of the Lotus is complete, Hai-yun sends him to the capital for ordination and weeps for sadness at parting from him. When the boy arrives in the capital and says where he has come from and who was his instructor, he learns that Hai-yün was himself Mañjusrī. After ordination he returns to Wu-t'ai, but cannot find any trace of his master or of his cell.

176. (14/2)

The High Priest Kanchō is one evening examining progress on some repair work which he has organized at the Ninna-ji. As he walks round, a man dressed in black suddenly appears and kneels before him, trying to conceal the fact that he is holding a sword. The man demands some of Kanchō's clothing, but Kanchō, quite unperturbed, darts round behind him and kicks him so hard that he vanishes

from sight. Kanchō calls out other priests and the man is eventually found caught up in the rope-scaffolding. Kanchō tells him not to underrate an old priest, then presents him with a thick coat which he is wearing.

177. (14/3)

The wrestler Tsuneyori is standing beside a deep pool when a snake pokes its head out of the water. It disappears, then the tail comes out and twining round Tsuneyori's legs, tries to pull him in. He resists the pull, though his clogs break with the strain and his feet sink several inches into the ground. Suddenly the snake's tail snaps. It is later found that the snake had anchored its head by winding it around a tree root, and further that the pull of the snake had been equal to that of sixty men.

178. (14/4)

A Japanese ambassador returning home from China leaves behind his child by a Chinese mother, intending to send for it later. When no word comes the mother ties a label round the child's neck, and facing in the direction of Japan throws it into the sea.

The father, while passing the bay of Naniwa, sees a white object floating towards the shore, which proves to be his child astride a fish. He sends news of the miracle

to the mother. The child is called Uokai, 'Fish-keeper' (there is indeed a historical character of this name) and grows up to be a skilful calligrapher.

179. (14/5)

The Emperor of Silla has his adulterous consort strung up by her hair, with her feet two or three feet off the ground. But she prays to the Bodhisattva named Kannon who she has heard manifests herself at Hase in Japan, and a golden stool miraculously appears beneath her feet, invisible to all but herself. Some time later she is released, and in her gratitude sends many valuable gifts to the Hase temple, which are said to be still there.

180. (14/6)

Sadashige, before coming up from Tsukushi (Kyūshū) to the capital pledges ten swords with a Chinese in order to borrow cloth for presents to Lord Uji and his own friends. At Yodo on the way back to Tsukushi, a retainer of his is offered a jewel, in exchange for which he gives an old coat. Arrived back in Hakata, he offers it for sale to a low-class Chinese who is prepared to pay so much that he first doubles the price, then, seeing that the Chinese is still eager, says he must consider further before selling it. The Chinese goes to the house of the Chinese merchant with whom Sadashige had dealt and tells him about the jewel.

Sadashige is in fact with the merchant at that very moment, and when asked to obtain the jewel, demands to know which of his retainers has it, confiscates it and gives it to the merchant, who promptly returns all ten of his swords to him, such is the value of the jewel.

Another jewel story, also from Tsukushi, is that of a man named Tōshi Shōzu, who is sold a jewel which seems so precious that he pays sixty lengths of silk for it, three times the price asked. He takes the jewel to China and during a storm on the voyage he is asked to throw it into the sea, in accordance with the custom of attempting to pacify the waves with the most valuable thing aboard. He refuses.

Now the ship's captain also possesses a jewel, though an inferior one, and Shōzu is asked to sell it for him, but loses it. Though he offers to replace it with his own, the captain refuses, because Shōzu's is so much more valuable than his. (The narrator adds a comment that no Japanese would have refused under these circumstances.) Fortunately the lost jewel is recovered, through the kindness and alertness of a prostitute to whom Shōzu tells the story of his loss. Seeing someone offer for sale a jewel which she thinks is the lost one, she sends for Shōzu, and it is recovered.

Shozu sells his own jewel for five thousand tan of Chinese silk, each of which is worth five hiki of Mino silk. Thus for an outlay of sixty hiki of silk he makes the equivalent of fifty thousand kan.

181. (14/9)

In the time of the retired Emperor Shirakawa, there is a clever woman named Roku serving in the guards' quarters of his palace. The courtiers one rainy day send for her to cheer them up, but the servant sent to fetch her says that Roku feels it improper to come in. They insist - and find that it is not the woman who has come but a very diffident and obsequious fourth-grade official (a sakan, on reading roku) of the Bureau of Justice.

182. (14/8)

At a party held when a prince is visiting the head of the Shōren Cloister, one of the pages serving is very ugly, and a priest composes (sotto voce) a verse about him for the others to provide a linked verse to. While they are cogitating, the Assistant High Priest, Chūin produces one which rather baffles the company. He says that he has composed it to show that it was not possible, on this subject.

(The verse is obscure and interpretations vary somewhat, but it certainly implies, through a pun on goe,

"Buddhist service" and goi, "fifth rank", that this ugly page has little chance of advancement.)

183. (14/9)

When it is reported that the moon is impinging on the constellation of the General, the two Generals of the Imperial Bodyguard are advised to take strict precautions. Only the General of the Right, Lord Ononomiya, however, has prayers said for his safety. When the officiating priest of the other General comes to the capital to ask why he has not been sent for, the General of the Left replies that if he has prayers said it will endanger the life of his colleague, whose life is more valuable, since he is brilliant and moreover a young man. This generosity proves as effective as prayers, for the General of the Left remains unharmed.

184. (14/10)

Michinaga's dog one day will not allow its master to enter the gate of the Hōjō-ji, and the diviner Seimei is summoned to discover the meaning of this. He says that the dog has sensed something buried which bears a curse on Michinaga, and is trying to prevent him from passing near it. Seimei locates the spot and about fifteen feet down two earthenware vessels are found, fitted together and tied crosswise with yellow paper twisted into a string. They

contain nothing but a figure 1 written on the bottom. To discover who has done this, Seimei ties a piece of paper in the shape of a bird, puts a spell on it and flings it up into the air, where it turns into a white heron and flies off to a house where lives an old priest. When questioned, he confesses that he had acted at the instigation of the Horikawa Minister of the Left Lord Akimitsu. This minister is therefore banished to Harima. After his death, he is said to have turned into a vengeful spirit and haunted this temple.

185. (14/11)

The brother of Takashina Shumpei, while at his master's residence in Tsukushi (presumably the Dazaifu, the seat of the Viceroy) meets a Chinese whom he persuades to teach him the art of divination by laying sticks. He has to promise, however, that he will then accompany the Chinese to China. He does very well, and his teacher is very pleased with him, imparting to him all the secrets except that of how to kill people. This he will teach him, he says, on the way to China.

Now Shumpei's brother has to go to the capital with his master but promises to return. However, in the capital he is dissuaded from going to China, and puts the Chinese off with excuses. Eventually, realizing he has been duped,

the Chinese lays a curse on Shumpei's brother. As a result, he becomes very stupid, and finally, in despair, becomes a lay priest.

On one occasion, when a crowd of young men and women are having an all-night party on 'Monkey-night', he is asked to tell a story to make them laugh. He does indeed make them laugh - not by telling a story but by casting a spell which renders them so helpless with laughter that if he had not released them they would have died.

186. (15/1)

In the time of the Emperor Tenchi, the Prime Minister, Prince Ōtomo, hopes to become the next Emperor, and the Crown Prince, fearing for his life, goes into seclusion at Yoshino, announcing that he is entering religion. Ōtomo goes to fetch him back, planning to kill him, but Ōtomo's wife, the Crown Prince's daughter, sends him a carp with a note enclosed in its belly, and thus warned, the Crown Prince makes his escape, dressed as a poor man. Among his adventures is an occasion when at Sunomata in Mino province, he cannot cross a ferry because all boats have been hidden at Ōtomo's command, and a washerwoman deceives the pursuing troops by concealing him under her upturned tub, while she goes on with her washing on top of it. She makes the pursuers turn back by telling them that the Crown Prince has

passed on to Shinano with a force greatly superior to theirs. Later she helps the Crown Prince to raise troops and he defeats Ōtomo at Ōtsu, afterwards acceding to the throne. This woman is said to have been the Goddess of Fuwa. (The Takashina family are said to have been made Governors of Shima province because a member of the family had given the Crown Prince a drink of water there.)

187. (15/2)

Yoritoki, a rebel in north-eastern Japan hard pressed by Imperial forces, investigates the possibility of taking refuge in an unknown country (said to be Hu, in Japanese Go) which can be seen across the sea from Michinoku. He and his men find a plain of reeds, with no sign of human habitation, but having no place to land, they sail inland up a river for about a month, still spotting no-one. Suddenly, there is a tremendous rumbling, and hiding in the reeds, they see a horseman appear, then following him about a thousand others. The horses cross the river with men on foot alongside them, as if there were a ford at this point. But later the water is found to be no less deep there than elsewhere. Yoritoki and his men feel it too hazardous to go on, and return to Japan. Soon after, Yoritoki dies.

188. (15/3)

Shimotsuke Takemasa and Hata Kaneyuki, who have taken part in the Kamo Festival, make a fine impression on Lord Hosshō-ji with their smartness as they pass on the way back, so much so that he orders them to go by a second time the other way. Having to come back, they thus have to pass a third time. Kaneyuki passes as before, but Takemasa, thinking that enough is enough, goes past the third time on the other side of the canvas screen set up opposite the Lord, so that only his head is visible.

189. (15/4)

A low-ranking officer of the Gate Guards named Kadobe is so keen on archery practice that he sacrifices the timber of his house, bit by bit, for fuel with which to provide light for night-time practice. He finally has no house left. But his zeal is rewarded, for his skill gains him Imperial favour, and he is given an appointment as a recruiter of wrestlers.

On his way back to the capital from a recruiting trip, his boat is approached by pirate ships. He calmly waits till they are close, then shoots at their chief and pierces him through the left eye. When the pirates see that he has used nothing but a tiny, blunt practice arrow, they fear that they are up against the supernatural, and take to

flight.

190. (15/5)

Michikiyo, a man of highly refined tastes, is invited by the Minister of the Left to a flower-viewing party. On the way there in his dilapidated carriage, he sees two or three carriages behind him and, thinking that they belong to his host, he rolls up the blind, and urges him to hurry. In fact, it is not his host but the Civil Dictator himself.

191. (15/6)

The Prime Minister from Horikawa, Kanemichi, is ill and exorcizing prayers are said at his house by every priest of note. Now though the priests of the Gokuraku-ji, built by Kanemichi, have received no summons, an obscure member of the temple's clergy comes along, and seating himself in an unobtrusive position, recites the Ninnō Sūtra. Some hours later, Kanemichi asks for this priest by name. Already he is much better, and he explains that in a dream a young boy appeared to him, driving away the demons afflicting him. He described himself as the guardian spirit of this priest. Kanemichi rewards the poor priest handsomely.

192. (15/7)

Irae no Yotsune prays to Bishamon for help, having no food. A beautiful woman comes to his door and presents

him with a bowl of food. He finds that a very little of this satisfies him, so that it lasts several months. Then he prays for help again, and a second time the woman appears. This time she gives him a note and tells him to go to a certain spot some distance away, stand on a peak and shout 'Narita'. Then he is to show the note to whoever appears. He finds that the note orders the handing-over of two to of rice.

He follows his instructions, and there appears a one-eyed creature, wearing only a red loincloth and with a horn growing out of its forehead. Despite the note, it says its instructions are to hand over only one to of rice. But Yotsune finds when he returns home that this one to is inexhaustible.

The governor of the province hears of the matter and demands the bag of rice. But in handing it over, Yotsune says that he is presenting the governor with one hundred koku - and sure enough, at that amount the supply ceases, though it begins again once the bag is restored to Yotsune. 193. (15/8)

Miroku (Maitreya) grants the request of the priest Sōō to be taken to the Tuṣita heaven. He tells Sōō to wash his buttocks and then takes him on his head. They come to a gate with a tablet reading, "The Wondrous Law of

the Lotus". Soo here learns that he cannot yet enter because he can only read the sūtra, but not recite it from memory. Miroku brings him back to earth, and later he achieves his aim.

Because of his reputation for miracles, he is sent for when the Empress is ill, but he is such a harum-scarum figure that he has to do his exorcizing from outside, on the verandah. Angrily, he casts spells which lift the Empress, bring her outside and fling her down. Then his spells fling her back inside and he takes his departure. The Empress now feels better and Soo is appointed an Assistant High Priest. But he refuses the appointment, and when summoned later, will not come to the capital.
194. (15/9)

St. Ninkai, a learned priest of the Yamashina temple, having had an access of religious fervour, wishes to leave. When the head of the temple will not allow him to do so, he takes a wife in the nearby village and scandalizes everyone by embracing her in public (though in fact he has never consummated his marriage, spending his nights at his devotions). The abbot hears of this and sends for him, whereupon Ninkai absconds. He becomes the son-in-law of a district governor, who becomes his ardent follower and benefactor. He says that he and his wife wish to be present

at Ninkai's death. Many years later, Ninkai comes to visit him one evening. The governor and his wife serve him themselves. Next morning, Ninkai seems to be late in rising, and there is a wonderful fragrance coming from his room. When they go to waken him, they find him dead, facing west with hands joined in prayer.

195. (15/10)

An Indian priest comes to China to preach Buddhism. Ch'in Shih-huang-ti (the first Emperor of the Ch'in), mistrustful of him on account of his unusual appearance, and suspicious of Buddhism in general, throws him into prison and threatens that in future he will have any such people killed. But the priest prays to the Buddha and Śākyamuni himself swoops down out of the sky, shatters the prison gates and takes the priest away. The other prisoners take advantage of this to escape, too. The jailer reports to the Emperor that the rescuer was a golden-coloured priest sixteen feet tall and emitting a brilliant radiance.

196. (15/11)

When Chuang Tzu goes to beg food of his neighbour, he is promised a thousand ryō of gold in five days' time. His neighbour says he could not give anything so mean as a day's supply of millet to one so eminent. Chuang Tzu replies with the story of a carp which he had found floun-

dering in a tiny puddle. It had said it was the messenger of the River God, on its way to "the district of rivers and lakes" (possibly the modern provinces of Hupei and Hunan). Chuang Tzu had replied that he would be going there in a few days and would take it with him. But the carp had said it needed water now, for in a few days' time it would be dead.

197. (15/12)

Confucius asks the brother of Tao Shih, the notorious leader of a gang of thieves, why he has not remonstrated with his brother. He replies that it is no use. Confucius goes himself to remonstrate with the man, but is worsted. Tao Shih refuses to listen to him, and argues that honesty is profitless, giving a number of examples in support of his case, such as that of the two Emperors Yao and Shun who were venerated by the world but whose descendants do not own enough land to stick a pin in. When he leaves, Confucius is so scared that he twice drops the reins, and his feet keep slipping out of the stirrups. The incident has given rise to the saying, "Even Confucius stumbles".

Table 1

A LIST OF THE TALE-COLLECTIONS

DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 1

Buddhist works

Title	Compiler	Date
Nihon-ryōiki (or reiiki)	Kyōkai	?821-2
Nihon-kanrei-roku	Gishō	?after 848
Daian-ji-engi		895
Hasedera-engi		896
Kōfuku-ji-engi		900
Yakushi-ji-engi		900
Sambō-e	Minamoto Tamenori	984
Nihon-ōjō-gokuraku-ki	Yoshishige Yasutane	985-6
Jizō-bosatsu-reigen-ki	Jitsuei	1016-1068
Dai-Nihon- (Honchō-) Hokke-genki	Chingen	1041
Zoku-honchō-ōjō-den	Ōe Masafusa	before 1111
Shūi-ōjō-den	Miyoshi Tameyasu	before 1139
Go-shūi-ōjō-den	Miyoshi Tameyasu	before 1139

Title	Compiler	Date
Hokke-shuhō-ippyakuza-kikigaki-shō		after 1110
Uchigiki-shū	?	before 1134
Hōbutsu-shū	Taira Yasuyori	ca. 1178-79
Senjū-shō	?Saigyō	?1183 ?1241-58
Hosshin-shū	?Kamo Chōmei	?1208-16
Kankyo-no-tomo	?St. Keisei	1222
Shishū-hyaku-innen-shū	Jūshin	1257
Shaseki-shū	Mujū	1279-83, with additions in 1295 and 1308
Zōdan-shū	Mujū	1305
Shingon-den	Eikai	1325

Secular works

Title	Compiler	Date
Zenke-(hiki, iki, isetsu)	Miyoshi Kiyoyuki	ca. 901-918
Ki-ke-ke-i-jitsuroku	Ki no Haseo	? (but before 912)

Title	Compiler	Date
Yamato-monogatari	?	ca. 950
Gōdan-shō	Recorded from tales told by Ōe Masafusa	?1104-1108
Shumpi-shō	Minamoto Toshiyori	before 1124
Chūgai-shō)) Fuke-godan)	Recorded from conversations of Fujiwara Tadazane	middle of 12th century
Fukuro-sōshi	Fujiwara Kiyosuke	before 1177
Mōgyū-waka	Minamoto Mitsuyuki	1204
Kiribi-no-oke)) Guhi-shō)	?Fujiwara Teika	?
Kyōkun-shō	Fujiwara Takamichi	1232-33
Ima-monogatari	?Fujiwara Nobuzane	after 1239
Jikkin-shō	Rokuhara Jirōzaemon	1252
Kokon-chomon-jū	Tachibana Narisue	1254
Yotsugi-monogatari (Uji-dainagon-mono- (gatari, Koyotsugi)	?	(?not long after (1254 (?part early (Kamakura, part (much later
Kara-monogatari	?	before 1275
Kara-kagami	Fujiwara Shigenori	after 1294

(continued on the)
(next page.)

Works of mixed content

Title	Compiler	Date
Konjaku-monogatari(-shū)	?	?ca. 1120
Kohon-setsuwa-shū	?	?ca. 1130
Kojidan	Minamoto Akikane	1212-15
Uji-shūi-monogatari	?	?early 13th century, ca. 1213-19
(Zoku-Kojidan	?	1219)

Table 2

THE DIVISION OF UJI-SHŪI TEXTS INTO BOOKS

The table on p.363 shows the division into books of the various texts of Uji-shūi used by Watanabe and Nishio in the preparation of their edition. These texts (all of which, except where noted, bear the title Uji-shūi-monogatari) are:-

I. A printed edition, thought from the forms of movable type used, to have been made in the Kan-ei period, 1624-43. This seems to preserve an older form of the text than the following (II).

II and IIA. II is a block-printed edition of 1659. It should be noted that though this is the text on which most modern editions are based, they do not follow its division of the first fifty-two tales, but I have not seen any statement of why this is so. The numbering according to books given by Watanabe and Nishio in addition to their own numbering from 1-197 corresponds with that used, e.g. by Kokushi-taikei and by the Nakajima and Nomura editions. In the table, I have included the now-customary division of the first three books under the heading IIA.

III. An undated but probably early Tokugawa manuscript in the

library of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. It bears the title Uji-no-dainagon-no-monogatari. This and the following (IV) are thought to preserve the text closest to the original.

IV. A manuscript in the Momozono library, untitled and copied at the latest by 1703, since the original owner has written inside the cover of the first book the family tree of Minamoto Takakuni, and the statement that 627 years have passed between the death of Takakuni and the current year, 1703.

V. An undated but probably early Tokugawa manuscript in the Hōsa library, entitled Uji-(no)-monogatari. The fourth of its five books consists of the collection Koyotsugi. The position of Koyotsugi in both this and the following manuscript (VI) is indicated in the table by an asterisk.

VI. An undated but probably early Tokugawa manuscript in the library of Kyūshū University. It resembles V in that it contains Koyotsugi, but as the fifth of its five books.

VII. An undated but probably mid-Tokugawa manuscript in the Cabinet library. A very imperfect text thought to be derived from II.

VIII. An undated but probably early Tokugawa manuscript in the library of Kyōto University. The text, incomplete and very poor, is closest to III. The original title label is missing, and the words 'An old manuscript of

Uji-shūi-monogatari' have been written in.

IX. An undated but probably early Tokugawa manuscript in the library of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. It is incomplete and has no title label, the words Uji-shūi being written directly on the cover.

X. An incomplete manuscript in the Momozono library. Since it contains only stories 28-55, it may be the second book of an eight-book version. The text, corrupt in places, is close to III. Watanabe and Nishio, who have seen only a copy of this, and not the original manuscript itself, quote Ikeda Kikan as saying, 'The fragmentary manuscript which appears to have been copied in the late Muromachi period, is entitled Konjaku-monogatari; it has no table of contents, but seems to be an old manuscript of Uji-shūi.'

XI. An incomplete manuscript in the possession of Kobayashi Tadao. The text is close to IV. It has no title label, but has Uji-shūi written on the cover. Watanabe and Nishio have no suggestion to make about the date of this text.

I	(1) 1–27	(2) 28–52	(3) 53–87	(4) 88–102	(5) 103–122	(6) 123–149	(7) 150–178	(8) 179–197							
II	(1) 1–8	(2) 9–36	(3) 37–52	(4) 53–69	(5) 70–82	(6) 83–91	(7) 92–98	(8) 99–105	(9) 106–113	(10) 114–123	(11) 124–136	(12) 137–160	(13) 161–174	(14) 175–185	(15) 186–197
IIA	(1) 1–18	(2) 19–32	(3) 33–52	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
III	(1) 1–103								(2) 104–197						
IV	(1) 1–34	(2) 35–71	(3) 72–103						(4) 104–150					(5) 151–197	
V	(1) 1–52			(2) 53–104					(3) 105–149 *					(5) 150–197	
VI	(1) 1–52			(2) 53–102					(3) 103–149					(4) 150–197 *	
VII	(1) 1–52			(2) 53–91		(3) 92–113			(4) 114–160					(5) 161–197	
VIII									(2) 104–197						
IX														(4?) 150–197	
X		(2?) 28–55													
XI	(1) 1–25		(2) 26–75			(3) 76–102									

Table 3

THE DATES OF JAPANESE STORIES IN UJI-SHŪI

In this table, the Japanese tales of historical (but not necessarily only famous) figures whose action can be dated at least approximately are grouped according to period.

Before 800	85, 165, 178, 186.
800-1070	1, 4, 9, 20-21, 23-4, 26-9, 31-2, 35, 43-4, 49-51, 55, 59-61, 63, 68-9, 81, 94-5, 97, 102, 106, 111, 114, 117-8, 120-122, 124-8, 132, 134-5, 139-146, 148-151, 157-8, 161-3, 166, 170, 172, 176-7, 183-4, 187, 191, 193.
Second half of 11th century (but possibly before 1070)	34, 37, 41-2, 46, 67.
Late 11th century (definitely after 1070)	10, 93, 180.
Late 11th or early 12th century	6, 11, 66, 74, 78, 115-6, 181, 185.
12th century	2, 14, 62, 64-5, 72, 99, 130, 182, 188.

(In addition , the action of 159 is to be dated sometime between the abdication in 1198 and the death in 1239 of Go-Toba)

Table 4

UJI-SHŪI CORRESPONDENCES WITH

KONJAKU, UCHIGIKI, KOHON AND KOJIDAN

The abbreviations used are: US = Uji-shūi, KM = Konjaku, UGS = Uchigiki, KSS = Kohon and KD = Kojidan. As Kojidan stories are not numbered, page references to the Kokushi-taikei edition are given, as well as the numbers indicating in which of the six books the stories occur.

US No.	Category	Parallels	US No.	Category	Parallels
1.	B	KD 3/p.63	28.	B	KM 25/7
	E	KM 12/36	29.	B	KM 26/4
4.	A	KD 2/pp.36-7	30.	B	KM 10/36
7.	D	KD 3/pp.77-8	31.	B	KM 23/21
9.	A	KD 3/p.66	32.	B	KM 20/3
16.	E	KM 17/1	35.	E	KD 2/pp.44-5
18.	B	KM 26/17	39.	B	KM 29/31
20.	D	UGS 4	40.	A	KSS 18
23.	B	KM 28/30	41.	A	KSS 20
24.	B	KM 20/44	42.	A	KSS 21
25.	B	KM 28/20	43.	A	KSS 25
27.	B	KM 23/16	44.	D	KM 17/24

US No.	Category	Parallels
45.	D	KM 17/25
50.	E	KM 30/1
54.	B	KM 26/15
55.	B	KM 15/4
56.	B	KM 26/10
58.	B	KM 15/22
59.	C	KM 19/2
60.	A	KD 2/p.48
61.	A	KD 3/p.67
63.	A	KD 5/p.109
64.	A	KD 5/p.100
65.	A	KD 3/p.73
66.	A	KD 4/p.90
67.	A	KD 3/p.68
68.	A	KD 3/p.69
69.	A	KD 3/pp.58-9
84.	E	UGS 25
	E	KM 27/3
85.	A	KSS 56
	D	KM 3/22
86.	A	KSS 57
	B	KM 16/37
87.	A	KSS 64
	E	KM 16/6
88.	A	KSS 66
89.	A	KSS 69
	B	KM 19/11
90.	B	KM 10/10
91.	B	KM 5/1
92.	B	KM 5/18
93.	B	KM 24/56
94.	B	KM 28/23
95.	B	KM 19/40
	C	KSS 49
96.	A	KSS 58
	B	KM 16/28
97.	C	KM 24/3
	E	KD 2/p.44
101.	A	KSS 65
	E	KM 11/36
1o2.	B	KM 14/29
103.	B	KD 3/p.51
	E	KM 12/7
104.	B	KM 20/13

US No.	Category	Parallels
105.	C	KM 13/3
106.	B	KM 20/10
107.	B	UGS 10
108.	B	KM 16/7
	E	KSS 54
111.	B	KM 24/55
	B	KSS 44
112.	B	KM 19/20
115.	A	KD 6/p.115
116.	A	KD 6/p.115
117.	B	KD 3/p.57
118.	B	KM 27/26
119.	D	KM 26/7
120.	B	KM 31/25
121.	B	KM 31/29
122.	B	KM 24/18
124.	B	KM 28/21
126.	C	KM 24/16
127.	C	KM 24/16
128.	B	KM 25/9
131.	A	KSS 59
	B	KM 16/30
132.	B	KM 23/15
135.	A	KD 4/p.88
136.	B	KM 19/12
137.	C	KM 4/9
138.	D	KM 4/25
139.	E	UGS 17
140.	C	KM 19/3
141.	C	KM 12/35
142.	C	UGS 26
143.	C	KM 19/18
144.	E	KD 3/p.75
145.	D	KM 28/24
146.	A	KSS 11
147.	A	KSS 38
148.	A	KSS 40
	B	KM 19/13
149.	A	KSS 41
	B	KM 24/43
150.	A	KSS 22
151.	A	KSS 27
	B	KM 27/2
	E	KD 1/p.4

US No.	Category	Parallels
152.	C	KM 10/9
161.	B	KM 26/13
162.	B	KM 28/6
163.	B	KM 27/42
164.	B	KM 9/13
	B	UGS 21
166.	B	KM 23/24
167.	B	KM 9/18
168.	B	KM 20/34
169.	B	KM 20/12
170.	C	KM 11/11
	D	UGS 18
171.	C	KM 5/31
	B	UGS 20
172.	C	KM 19/2
173.	B	KM 20/39
	E	KD 3/p.58
174.	B	KM 4/6
176.	B	KM 23/20
177.	B	KM 23/22
179.	B	KM 16/19
180.	C	KM 26/16
183.	B	KM 20/43
184.	B	KD 6/p.127
185.	B	KM 24/22
187.	B	KM 31/11
188.	B	KD 6/p.129
191.	A	KSS 52
	B	KM 14/35
192.	A	KSS 61
	D	KM 17/47
193.	E	KM 20/7
	E	KD 3/pp.56-7
194.	E	KD 3/p.75
195.	A	UGS 2
	B	KM 6/1
196.	B	KM 10/11
197.	B	KM 10/15

Table 5

KONJAKU CORRESPONDENCES WITH

UJI-SHŪI, KOHON AND UCHIGIKI

For the abbreviations used, see Table 4.

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 3			
22	85	56	
30			12
Book 4			
6	174		
9	137		
24		63	13
25	138		
Book 5			
1	91		
3			15
18	92		
31	171		20
32			7

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 6			
1	195		2
2			22
3			1
4			3
5			8
6			9
Book 9			
13	164		21
18	167		
Book 10			
9	152		
10	90		
11	196		
15	197		
36	30		
Book 11			
2		60	
11	170		18
12			16
25			6
28			5
36	101	65	

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 12			
7	103		
21		47	
24		70	
35	141		
36	1		
Book 13			
3	105		
Book 14			
29	102		
35	191	52	
41			19
42		51	23
45			11
Book 15			
4	55		
22	58		
27			27
Book 16			
4		53	
6	87	64	
7	108	54	
19	179		

	KM	US	KSS	UGS
(cont.)	Book 16			
	28	96	58	
	30	131	59	
	37	86	57	
	Book 17			
	1	16		
	24	44		
	25	45		
	45		62	
	47	192	61	
	Book 19			
	2	(59) ( ) (172)		
	3	140		
	5		28	
	11	89	69	
	12	136		
	13	148	40	
	17		1	
	18	143		
	20	112		
	40	95	49	
	41		49	

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 20			
3	32		
7	193		
10	106		
12	169		
13	104		
34	168		
39	173		
43	183		
44	24		
Book 22			
7			24
Book 23			
15	132		
16	27		
20	176		
21	31		
22	177		
24	166		
Book 24			
3	97		
16	(126) ( ) (127)		

	KM	US	KSS	UGS
(cont.)	Book 24			
	18	122		
	22	185		
	23		24	
	33		2	
	34		(2) ( ) (31)	
	38		32	
	43	149	41	
	44		45	
	46		27	
	47		29	
	48		34	
	49		33	
	51		5	
	52		4	
	54		35	
	55	111	44	
	56	93		
	Book 25			
	7	28		
	9	128		

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 26			
4	29		
7	119		
10	56		
13	161		
15	54		
16	180		
17	18		
Book 27			
2	151	27	
3	84		25
26	118		
42	163		
Book 28			
6	162		
20	25		
21	124		
23	94		
24	145		
30	23		
Book 29			
31	39		

KM	US	KSS	UGS
Book 30			
1	50		
Book 31			
11	187		
25	120		
29	121		

Table 6

THE INTRODUCTORY FORMULAS USED IN UJI-SHŪI

This table is based on the edition of Watanabe and Nishio. It should be noted that in all the cases marked with an asterisk, there is a variant reading kore mo ima wa mukashi. The abbreviations used are: I = ima wa mukashi, Ki = kore mo ima wa mukashi, M = mukashi and Km = Kore mo mukashi.

US No.	Formula	US No.	Formula	US No.	Formula
1.	I	34-5.	I	61-71.	Ki
2.	Ki	36-9.	Ki	72.	*Km
3.	*Km	40-43.	I	73-83.	Ki
4-6.	Ki	44-6.	Ki	84-90.	I
7-8.	-	47-52.	I	91.	M
9.	Ki	53.	M	92.	Km
10.	*I	54	-	93.	I
11-15.	Ki	55.	I	94.	*I
16-23.	I	56-9.	-	95.	Ki
24-33.	M	60.	I	96-7.	I

(continued on the next page.)

US No.	Formula	US No.	Formula	US No.	Formula
98-100.	Ki	129-130.	Ki	171-6.	I
101.	I	131-2.	I	177.	M
102-3.	Ki	133.	Ki	178.	I
104-7.	M	134.	M	179-183.	Ki
108-9.	-	135-6.	Ki	184.	*I
110.	M	137-8.	M	185.	Ki
111-112.	I	139-140.	-	186.	I
113.	M	141-5.	M	187.	*I
114.	I	146-158.	I	188-191.	Ki
115-117.	Ki	159.	-	192-3.	I
118-125.	I	160-163.	I	194.	Ki
126.	M	164-5.	M	195-6.	I
127.	-	166-8.	I	197.	Ki
128.	M	169-170.	M		

NOTES

Abbreviations used in the notes

The titles of two important works of reference are abbreviated to initials, as follows:

NBD - Fujimura Tsukuru (ed.), Nihon-bungaku-daijiten

NBS - Hisamatsu Sen-ichi (ed.), Nihon-bungakushi

In addition, the titles of a number of books and articles which are cited several times are given in their full form only on their first appearance, and thereafter in a shortened form, e.g. Katayose, Kenkyū (for Konjaku-monogatari-shū no kenkyū), and Kawaguchi, 'Konjaku to Kohon'(for 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū to Kohon-setsuwa-shū ni tsuite').

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Hereafter called for convenience Uji-shūi and Konjaku.
2. IV, 317-8.
3. NBS, I, 72. I reproduce the three European equivalents there given, though 'folktale' is in fact a wider term than the other two.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. The principal sources used were:-
   (a) NBD.
   (b) NBS, I-III.
   (c) Nomura Hachirō, Kamakura-jidai-bungaku-shinron.
   (d) Nomura Hachirō, Kinko-jidai-setsuwa-bungaku-ron.
   (e) Masuda Katsumi, Setsuwa-bungaku to emaki.
2. Hereafter called for convenience Kohon and Uchigiki respectively.
3. In preparation for a paper on jātaka tales in Japanese tale-collections of the Heian and Kamakura periods, delivered at the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Munich in 1957.
4. The commoner pronunciation of the title is Nihon-ryōiki, although NBD gives the reading Nihon-reiiki. It is thought possible that some of this collection may not be the work of Kyōkai (see NBS, II, 52). There is a complete translation of Ryōiki into German by H. Bohner, 'Legenden aus der Frühzeit des japanischen Buddhismus',
5. Mentioned in NBS, II, 48.
6. (a) Ming-pao-chi, a collection in two books of stories about the workings of karma from the Sui and T'ang periods. This was compiled, according to Fa-yüan-chu-lin,

by T'ang-lin between 650 and 655. Of this work, lost at an early date in China, several texts have survived in Japan. They are discussed by Katayose Masayoshi in Konjaku-monogatari-shū no kenkyū, I, 346-9.

(b) Panjo-chienchi, an abbreviation of Chinkang-panjo-ching-chi-chienchi; ... not extant either in China or Japan. Compiled by Mêng Hsien-chung in 718. (See NBS, II, 48)

7. According to NBS, II, 52, this is probable because jido-shami occur so frequently in Ryōiki. The term shido-sō is used by Masuda. In his discussion (Emaki, 80 ff.) of the shido-sō element in Ryōiki, he states as a fact that Kyōkai had been one.

8. NBS, II, 54-5.

9. It should be noted, however, that there is only one Uji-shūi parallel (story 83) with Ryōiki, which is not close. It is curious that Konjaku in several places has consecutive runs of Ryōiki stories broken by, or adjacent to, stories which have parallels in Uji-shūi, e.g. in book 14, Nos. 26-8, 30-33 and 36-8 correspond with Ryōiki stories, while Nos. 29 and 35 are in Uji-shūi but not Ryōiki. Again, in book 20, Nos. 10-13, 34, 39 and 43-4 are Uji-shūi parallels but 15-33, 37-8 and 41-2 are Ryōiki parallels, while in book 23, Nos.

15-16 and 20-24 are Uji-shūi parallels but 17-18 are Ryōiki parallels.

10. Emaki, 129-130.

11. The information about the engi mentioned here is derived mainly from NBD, I, 317.

12. Emaki, 130.

13. Sometimes called Sambō-ekotoba.

14. Emaki, 136-7.

15. Kinko, 85.

16. Masuda, Emaki 143, mentions the existence of fragments of or quotations from other works with the same or almost the same title.

17. The information on this and the following ōjō-den is taken largely from NBD, I, 348-9.

18. Strictly speaking, wakan-konkō-bun includes any style in which Chinese and Japanese elements are mixed, whether Chinese with a slight admixture of Japanese, or Japanese containing many Chinese words and turns of expression, like the language of Kamakura war-tales. I use the term here in the latter sense. For the other style (that of diaries and, later, official documents), the term hentai-kambun, 'abnormal Chinese', is often used.

19. My information on this work is derived largely from the

study in German mentioned in the following note.

20. 'Das "hokke-shuhō-ippyakuza-kikigaki=shō" -- Übersetzung, textkritische un grammatische Bearbeitung eines buddhistischen Erzählungstextes.' A doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Hamburg in 1958.

21. Uchigiki-shū-kaisetsu, introduction to Uchigiki in the reproduction of the text by the Koten-hozon-kai, 1-2 (though this book has in fact no pagination).

22. Since I have counted the admittedly very brief and fragmentary Uchigiki item No. 25 as having some similarity to items in Uji-shūi and Konjaku, my figures differ from those (21 and 8 respectively) given by Nakajima Etsuji in the introduction to his commentary on Uchigiki in Uji-shūi-monogatari-shinshaku, 522-3. The figures given by Hashimoto in his introduction to Uchigiki are different again (20 and 7 respectively).

23. Kamakura-jidai, 285.

24. NBD, IV, 334.

25. NBS, III, 151

26. ibid., 147.

27. ibid., 151.

28. See NBD, VI, 411, and Nomura, Kamakura-jidai, 306.

29. NBD, II, 101.

30. NBS, III, 151.

31. Kamakura-jidai, 357.

32. The relationship between Shingon-den and these works is discussed by Imano Tatsu in 'Zenke-hiki to Shingon-den-shoin-sanshitsu-monogatari', 36-43. It is of particular interest because Shingon-den may have used as a source a now-lost work Uji-dainagon-monogatari, thought to have been a source for Konjaku, Uji-shūi, etc.

33. See 'Zenke-hiki', 30-36.

34. ibid., 31-2.

35. Discussed in Chapter 2 below.

36. 'Zenke-hiki', 31.

37. Mentioned in Masuda, Emaki, 100-101.

38. Emaki, 138 ff.

39. ibid., 124.

40. Nomura, Kinko, 72, and NBS, II, 142.

41. Discussed by Ikeda Kikan in 'Setsuwa-bungaku ni okeru Chisoku-in-kampaku no chii'.

42. Kamakura-jidai, 221.

43. This theory of Kasuga Seiji (or: Masaharu) is described in NBS, III, 146, and also in the article mentioned in the following note.

44. By Kobayashi Tadao, in 'Yotsugi-monogatari, Uji-dainagon-monogatari no seiritsu ni tsuite', particularly 43 ff.

45. It is difficult to see how the figure of 40 (with 21, not 19, in book 2) given by Kawaguchi (Umezawa-bon-Kohon-setsuwa-shū, 202) for the Kohon correspondences with Konjaku is arrived at. Though he says that there are three parallels in book 17 of Konjaku, I can find only one close and one very remote parallel. Also, story 48 might perhaps be considered an additional (very remote) parallel, along with 54, to the Konjaku story of the girl from Tsuruga (16/7); but Kawaguchi's figures show that he does not count story 48 in Kohon as a parallel to the Uji-shūi version of the Tsuruga story (108), yet the latter is very close to that in Konjaku.

46. Umezawa-bon-Kohon-setsuwa-shū, 204.

47. ibid., 205-6.

48. Kamakura-jidai, 189.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Some work had already been done in the Tokugawa period, but nothing on the monumental scale of Haga's Kōshō-Konjaku-monogatari-shū.
2. The same attitude has been shown by those who have held that Uji-shūi is based directly on Konjaku (see Chapter 6 below).
3. Somedono-no-kisaki, i.e. Fujiwara Akirakeiko, said in Konjaku to be the mother of the Emperor Montoku, but actually his consort, and the mother of the Emperor Seiwa.
4. In e.g. 'Kizoku-shakai ni tōsō o idomu Konjaku-monogatari'.
5. 'Zenke-hiki', 31.
6. This is pointed out by Miyata Hisashi, in 'Uji-shūi-monogatari no seiritsu -- sōden-rui to no hikaku-kentō o tōshite', 75.
7. 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū setsuwa no keisei to henshū -- seiritsu no mondai', 6.
8. 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū no seiritsu-jijō ni tsuite -- hitotsu no kame-hoon-setsuwa o toshite', 55 ff.
9. Kunisaki, 'Uji-shūi-monogatari to senkō-setsuwa-shū', 76.
10. Some titles of such collections (in addition to Uchigiki

and Hokke-hyakuza) mentioned by Nishio Kōichi in Chūsei-setsuwa-bungaku, 6-7, are: Kanazawa-bunko-bon-bukkyō-setsuwa-shū, Sōan-shū, Gensen-shū and Futsū-shōdō-shū, the first said to be from late Heian and the others from the Kamakura period.

11. 'Tonkō-hembun no seikaku to waga kuni shōdō-bungaku -- setsuwa to sekkyō-shi no keifu', 1.

12. Emaki, 21.

13. In Chūseiteki sekai no keisei, quoted in Masuda, Emaki, 168-9.

14. The title can also be read Masakado-ki. This is an account in Chinese (though to some extent 'abnormal Chinese') of the rebellion of Taira Masakado in 938-940. It is thought (NBD, IV, 86) to have been written within a period of months after Masakado's death, perhaps by a priest from the eastern provinces, and is considered the first example of 'war-tales'.

15. An account, in roughly the same style as Shōmon-ki, of the rebellion of Abe Yoritoki (and Sadatō), and its suppression by Minamoto Yoriyoshi (and Yoshiie). It is thought to have been written soon after the end of the war in 1062, possibly by a supporter of the Imperial side (NBD, VII, 130).

16. Kawaguchi, 'Setsuwa no keisei', 6-7, and Imano, 'Konjaku-

monogatari-shū no sakusha o megutte'.

17. Its style in parts of book 25, containing tales of warriors, is highly praised for its vigour by Igarashi Tsutomu, in his Heianchō-bungakushi, 533-5. But this style is not equalled elsewhere in the work.

18. NBS, II, 481-2.

19. Konjaku-monogatari-shū no shin-kenkyū, 579-583.

20. Emaki, 161.

21. 'Konjaku-monogatari-kanshō'.

22. He also acknowledges (Konjaku-monogatari, [Nihon-koten-zensho, Asahi], I, 145) his debt to another advocate of the literary merits of Konjaku, Kojima Masajirō.

23. e.g. in 'Heianchō no kōdō-bungaku'. Nagano's views on Konjaku as literature are set out at greater length in Konjaku-monogatari-hyōron.

24. Proposed by Kawaguchi in 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū to Kohon-setsuwa-shū ni tsuite', 36-8, and also by Nakano Takeshi in 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū no sakusha ni tsuite', 31.

25. 'Setsuwa no keisei', 7.

26. ibid., 9.

27. The idea that the work as we have it is still in the nature of a draft, and not in finalized form, was developed by Mabuchi Kazuo in 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū ni

okeru ketsubun no kenkyū'.

28. In 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū ni okeru setsuwateki hassō', quoted in Masuda, Emaki, 170.

29. Emaki, 45-6.

30. Chūsei-setsuwa-bungaku, 20-21.

31. 'Kanshō', 34.

32. Emaki, 216 ff.

33. ibid., 210-214.

34. Ibid., 214.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Uji-shūi-monogatari, 25 ff.
2. That of Watanabe and Nishio, however, is based on the earlier, movable-type edition (text I in Table 2).
3. By Nomura, Uji-shūi-monogatari (Nihon-koten-zensho, Asahi), I, 12-13. Also by Watanabe and Nishio, 25.
4. 26-8.
5. These links in Konjaku are discussed in detail by Kunisaki in several articles, of which the most important is 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū no setsuwa-tenkai-yōshiki'.
6. 14/28. This is an amalgam of two Ryōiki stories, 1/19 and 2/18.
7. Nos. 196 and 482 in 'The Jātaka', translated by E.B. Cowell and others, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895-1907.
8. Where only the Uji-shūi reference is given, the position of the parallel story in Konjaku (or, as the case may be, some other work of the Konjaku-Uji-shūi group) can be ascertained from Table 4, pp. 365-368 .
9. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari to Kokon-chomon-jū to no seikaku', 92-3.
10. Chūsei-setsuwa-bungaku, 18.
11. Shinshaku, 4-5.
12. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 36 ff.

13. ibid., 36.

14. Two studies of this variation in Konjaku are Hotta Yōji, ' "Gotoshi" to "Yō nari" to kara mita Konjaku-monogatari-shū no bunshō', and Ishigaki Kenji, 'Gohō yori mitaru Konjaku-monogatari'.

15. 'Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki o ron-jite Uji-shūi no chosaku-nendai ni oyobu', 11-13. This article is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below.

16. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari to Kojidan to no kankei', 45-6. Whether or not Yafuki is right in saying that aida is typical of a Sinicized style, it is not strictly true that it appears in Uji-shūi only in stories parallel with Kojidan. Four examples of its use elsewhere can be cited, in US 44 (Watanabe and Nishio, 134, line 5), 45 (135, line 12), 127 (310, line 11) and 170 (376, line 10).

17. 'Uji-shūi no seiritsu', 63-7 and 75.

18. 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū to Fusō-ryakki', 49 and 51-4. Kunisaki expresses the same ideas in two other articles, mentioned in Notes 9 and 10 to Chapter 2.

19. Nakajima, 'Uji-shūi to Kokon-chomon-jū', 93, and Shin-shaku, 6-7, also the unnamed writer of the article on post-Heian (chūsei) tale-collections in Fujimura Tsukuru and Nishio Minoru (ed.), Nihon-bungakushi-jiten, 562.

20. Shinshaku, 98. It should be noted that when Nakajima wrote this commentary, he believed Uji-shūi to have used Konjaku as a direct source, though he later abandoned this view.

21. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 40.

22. In fact, one of Akutagawa's stories, Ryū, is based on US 130, while the theme of another, Jigoku-hen, appears to have been suggested partly by US 38.

23. 24.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. 38 ff.
2. According to Watanabe and Nishio, 130 (note 10) and 443 (supplementary note 35).
3. Shinshaku, 448.
4. 'Setsuwa no ni-keiretsu ni tsuite', 83.
5. ibid., 83-4.
6. Nakajima, and Watanabe and Nishio, in theif commentaries on Uji-shūi, quote from this story (and the parallel to US 167) only by reference to Fa-yüan-chu-lin, which states that its source was Ming-pao-chi. The relevant sections of the Fa-yüan-chu-lin text are quoted in full in Haga, Kōshō, I, the present story appearing on p.632. However, Yamada Yoshio (and others), Konjaku-monogatari-shū, II, 202-3, gives references to a text (unspecified) of Ming-pao-chi itself.
7. Watanabe and Nishio, 462, supplementary note 117 .
8. Yamada, Konjaku, II, 288, introductory headnote.
9. For a discussion of the Hsiang T'o story, with a translation of one version from Tun-huang, see Arthur Waley, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang, London, 1960, 89-96. In addition to numerous Chinese versions of this tale, there are Tibetan, Mongolian and Siamese versions; these, together with the Konjaku version (though not

that in Uji-shūi) are discussed at length by Michel Soymié in 'L'Entrevue de Confucius et de Hiang T'o', Journal Asiatique, CCXLII, 1954, 311-392.

10. That Uji-shūi does not have 'Urin-in' here is particularly interesting, since this and the preceding story in Uji-shūi are linked by the mention in both of an 'Enlightenment Service' (bodai-kō). But in the first of these two stories, the service is at 'Urin-in'.

11. See the article by Mabuchi, mentioned in note 30 to Chapter 2.

12. The poem and its introduction are quoted in Watanabe and Nishio, 249, note 25.

13. Imano, 'Konjaku no sakusha', 39, comments on this mistake as part of the evidence for a lack of culture in the writer. These comments are quoted in part in Watanabe and Nishio, 454, supplementary note 80..

14. 'Konjaku no sakusha', 34. He maintains that Takakuni, born in 1004, could hardly have made such a mistake.

15. 298, note 5.

16. Konjaku (Asahi), IV, 237, note 3.

17. Quoted in Watanabe and Nishio, 464, supplementary note 124.

18. 289, note 15.

19. Quoted in Haga, Kōshō, I, 378 ff.

20. Quoted in Haga, Kōshō, II, 841-2.

21. Quoted in Watanabe and Nishio, 278, note 1.

22. 406, note 2.

23. See note 6 above. The relevant section of Fa-yüan-chu-lin is quoted in Haga, Kōshō, I, 643.

24. See Yamada, Konjaku, II, 299, notes 29 and 51.

25. Discussed in Chapter 5 below.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Several texts add here in smaller characters the note 'That is, Takaakira'. Minamoto Takaakira was the seventeenth son of the Emperor Daigo, and died in 972.
2. Died 1027.
3. According to the 1659 edition, 'fifteen'.
4. The identity of this person is discussed later in this chapter.
5. 'Hanashi no seitai -- shakai-sei no mondai', 18.
6. Kawaguchi, 'Konjaku to Kohon', 36, believes that it may have been compiled in the manner described. There seems to be general agreement at least that the tales were probably recordings of popular tradition and gossip.
7. 436, supplementary note 1.
8. Kenkyū, I, 256-7.
9. 49, note 23.
10. 10.
11. Gunsho-ruijū, V, 301, and Zoku-gunsho-ruijū, VII, Pt. 1, 449.
12. Watanabe and Nishio, 219, note 13.
13. The same story in Konjaku (24/56) is cited as evidence in discussions of the date of the work. Beginning, 'When...was Governor of Harima', the story seems to have

been written after Tameie's term of office. Tameie is mentioned in contemporary documents (cited by, for example, Yamada, Konjaku, I, 9) as Governor of Harima in 1077, as having been re-appointed in that year, and as being still Governor in 1081. But Takakuni died in 1077.

14. Shinshaku, 3.
15. ibid., 491.
16. Konjaku (Asahi), V, 238, note 1.
17. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari-kō', 73-4.
18. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 28-9.
19. See, for example, Sakai, Shin-kenkyū, 106-7, and Gotō, 'Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki o ron-jite', 19-20.
20. 'Kenkyū-go-junrei-ki o ron-jite'. The sections relating to the individual Uji-shūi stories are 15-18 (US 116) and 11-14 (US 103).
21. Shin-kenkyū, 103-4.
22. 'Chisoku-in-kampaku', 5.
23. Shin-kenkyū, 111.
24. 'Kojidan to Uji-shūi-monogatari no kankei'.
25. See note 20 above.
26. See Chapter 3, note 16.
27. 'Kojidan to Uji-shūi', 12.
28. ibid., 13-29.
29. 13. The opinions of Satō Sukeo (in 'Uji-shūi-mono-

gatari-oboegaki', an article which I have been unable to see) are discussed by Masuda in an appendix to his 'Kojidan to Uji-shūi', 28-39. They are based on a not very convincing argument that the relationship between Uji-shūi and Kojidan is indirect. The date 1191 is arrived at by taking the latest date of events in Uji-shūi (story 190).

30. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 24.

31. 19.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku-kōshō, 624.
2. Shin-kenkyū, 78-80.
3. In Nihon-shojaku-kō, quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 53.
4. In Zoku-honchō-tsugan (1671), quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 55.
5. Genroku-shojaku (?shoseki)-mokuroku, IV, quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 56. Watanabe and Nishio think that at some time all collections of tales beginning ima wa mukashi came to be considered as different varieties of one and the same thing. They mention, for instance (p.11) that two texts of the probably middle or late Muromachi Zōzō-shū have on the cover the title Uji-dai-nagon-monogatari (though Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 96, makes it clear that inside they have the title Zōzō-shū).
6. Wada, Honchō-shojaku-mokuroku-kōshō, 622.
7. Quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 69.
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. ibid., 70. (It is not clear what this work was, but the title means 'Record of the Inner Minister of the Jūrin Cloister'.)
11. ibid., 71.

12. ibid., 72.
13. ibid., 80.
14. ibid., 77-8.
15. ibid., 68. Katayose uses the second of the two titles, but in Endō Motoo and Shimomura Fujio (ed.), Kokushi-bunken-kaisetsu, 131, the work is listed under the first.
16. Quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, 75.
17. Presumably either Eiga-monogatari or Ōkagami. But Katayose points out that neither work in its present form contains this story.
18. Quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 89.
19. ibid., 83-4.
20. Kohon (Iwanami), 206.
21. Quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 76-7.
22. ibid., 82.
23. ibid., 79.
24. ibid., 82.
25. ibid., 69-70.
26. ibid., 84-5.
27. 'Chisoku-in-kampaku', 14.
28. Quoted in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 71.
29. ibid., 80-81.
30. Konjaku (Asahi), III, 182, note 1.
31. Kenkyū, I, 81.

32. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari-kō', 69.

33. ibid., 69-78 and 82.

34. Shin-kenkyū, 78.

35. Konjaku-monogatari-sen. I have not seen this book, but the argument is described by Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 18-19. The same point is made in Fujioka's Kokubungaku-zenshi, Heianchō-hen, 573.

36. 'Konjaku-monogatari-kaisetsu', also described in Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 19-20. The contemporary records to which Wada refers are different from these mentioned by Yamada, Konjaku, I, 9; but they yield the same information.

37. Shin-kenkyū, 93-4.

38. Konjaku (Iwanami), I, 9-10.

39. Kenkyū, I, 112-132.

40. Konjaku (Asahi), I, 70.

41. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari-kō', 69-70.

42. Shin-kenkyū, 94-5.

43. The phrase in Konjaku is in both places written 近来, which has usually been read chikagoro. But according to Yamada, Konjaku, I, 447, supplementary note 211, the correct reading is konogoro.

44. In the article referred to in Chapter 2, note 24.

45. Originally in an article 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū sakusha-

kō', but also in the initial headnotes to the stories in his edition of Konjaku.

46. 'Kaiso no jodōshi no yōhō'.

47. A reproduction of this, together with the table constructed by Nakano himself, appears on p.28 of Nakano's article.

48. In the article referred to in Chapter 2, note 24.

49. In 'Konjaku no sakusha'.

50. Shin-kenkyū, 100, and Kenkyū, I, 147 ff. and 151 respectively. Both agree that the hypothetical author must have been a very knowledgeable man, but Sakai stresses (p.102) that he does not seem to have had more than an average knowledge of foreign literature.

51. '...is it not possible that Konjaku-monogatari-shū was written with no ulterior motive or social purpose in mind — that is to say, that it was the work of an individual, for his own amusement, and even when compiled, hardly circulated at all?' ('Konjaku no sakusha', 41)

52. Quoted by himself in 'Konjaku-monogatari kenkyū-shi', 62.

53. Konjaku (Asahi), I, 142-3, 146.

54. 'Konjaku to Kohon', 36-7.

55. Shōdō no bungaku, 227. Unfortunately, I have not had access to this book, and know of the theory only through a brief mention of it in Kawaguchi, 'Setsuwa no keisei',

28.

56. e.g. Ikeda ('Chisoku-in-kampaku', 14), Nomura (Uji-shūi Asahi , I, 6) and Nagano.

57. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 20-21.

58. In 'Konjaku-monogatari sakusha-kō'. To this article (as also to 'Uji-shūi-monogatari chosaku-nendai-kō' by the same author in the same year, 1908), I have not had access, but it is described by Katayose, Kenkyū, I, 20-21.

59. Sakai's view of the Uji-shūi - Konjaku relationship is stated on p.110 of his Shin-kenkyū.

60. According to Kunisaki ('Konjaku no seiritsu-jijō', 54), Nakajima expresses these views in 'Uchigiki-shū-kaisetsu', but I have been unable to find any article of this name. Kunisaki may perhaps be referring to Nakajima's 'Uchi-giki-shū-kō', but this I have not been able to see.

61. 'Konjaku no seiritsu-jijō', 57.

62. ibid., 58. It is difficult to see why Kunisaki thinks the recording of oral tradition and the standardization would necessarily have to be done in one operation.

63. 'Konjaku to Fusō-ryakki', 51-2.

64. 'Uji-shūi to senkō-setsuwa-shū', 71.

65. 'Konjaku to Fusō-ryakki', 52.

66. 'Uji-shūi to senkō-setsuwa-shū', 71.

67. ibid., 72-6.

68. ibid., 79.

69. Kohon (Iwanami), 204.

70. ibid., 207 ff.

71. Katayose, on the other hand, thinks that while the majority of its stories were Japanese, some were foreign (Kenkyū, I, 90).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Takahashi ('Setsuwa no ni-keiretsu', 86) thinks that if Konjaku, Uji-shūi etc. had independently recorded the same stories from oral tradition, no clear divergences in wording would have arisen, because 'it can perhaps be said that there was some organized (or: systematic) transmission of oral tales'. But he offers no evidence for this statement.
2. 'Uji-shūi to senkō-setsuwa-shū', 75-6.
3. Though Watanabe and Nishio stress the factor of oral transmission in tale literature, and consider it possible that some Uji-shūi items may have been written down from a recitation from memory, particularly in view of slight differences which could well have arisen through mis-hearing, they admit that certain correspondences are too close to be regarded as the result of anything but transcription from a written text. (See the introduction to their edition of Uji-shūi, p.6 and pp.16-17).
4. Konjaku (Asahi), V, 55, note 1.
5. 'Konjaku-monogatari-shū no sōrō to haberi'.
6. Kōshō, II, 800-801.
7. Kōshō, II, 749-751. This work is a collection of miracle-tales associated with the Hase temple, of uncer-

tain date, but thought (see Nomura, Kinko, 271-2) to have been composed between 1192 and 1222.

8. These figures are based on the edition of Watanabe and Nishio. Some other texts differ slightly.

9. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari no jo ni sōte', 174.

10. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 30.

11. 16.

12. Mukashi and kore mo mukashi.

13. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 29.

14. This story differs from the others in referring to him as 'the late Assistant High Priest Chūin'.

15. In one case where Konjaku has ariki (23/24), US 166 has a similar tense-suffix, though in the attributive form -shi, but the form of the sentence is different.

16. 10-11.

17. See Chapter 5, note 7.

18. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 38-40.

19. 20.

20. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 40.

21. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari-kō', 77-8.

22. 'Uji-shūi-monogatari no gohō ni tsuite'. This is in three parts.

23. Unfortunately, Koyama gives no references at all to the origin of his examples, not even story-numbers,

let alone page or line references. Thanks to the fact that the examples are quoted in full sentences, it has been possible, after much labour, to identify almost all of those most relevant to the present discussion.

24. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.1, 75.
25. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.2, 89-90.
26. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.1, 81-2.
27. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 39-40.
28. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.1, 81-2.
29. 65, note 24.
30. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.1, 71.
31. Uji-shūi (Asahi), I, 39.
32. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.2, 98-9.
33. ibid., 100.
34. 'Uji-shūi no gohō', Pt.1, 82 ff.
35. 'Konjaku no sōrō to haberi', 82.
36. ibid., 85. Sakurai omits all cases in which the two verbs have their original meanings of 'serve, attend' (I have done the same with Uji-shūi), and a few cases in which the exact meaning is doubtful.
37. ibid., 90-94. Briefly, it can be said that the two verbs differ in the degree of respect which they show. In general, sōrō is the more respectful of the two. That in the foreign stories haberi seems to indicate

more respect than sōrō may be due to the more literary character of these stories (haberi having been used exclusively in older texts), and to the fact that they were more remote from real life than some other parts of Konjaku. Examples in Konjaku show that where in continuous dialogue sōrō is used by one character and haberi by the other, it is the user of haberi who is higher-ranking. Haberi is reminiscent of the modern deferential forms. It probably fell into disuse because it ceased to indicate any great feeling of respect.

38. Kenkyū, I, 68-9.

39. Only US 47 is thought to have been a direct source. The other two stories are 50 and 146.

40. 194, note 6.

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